

The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1898)

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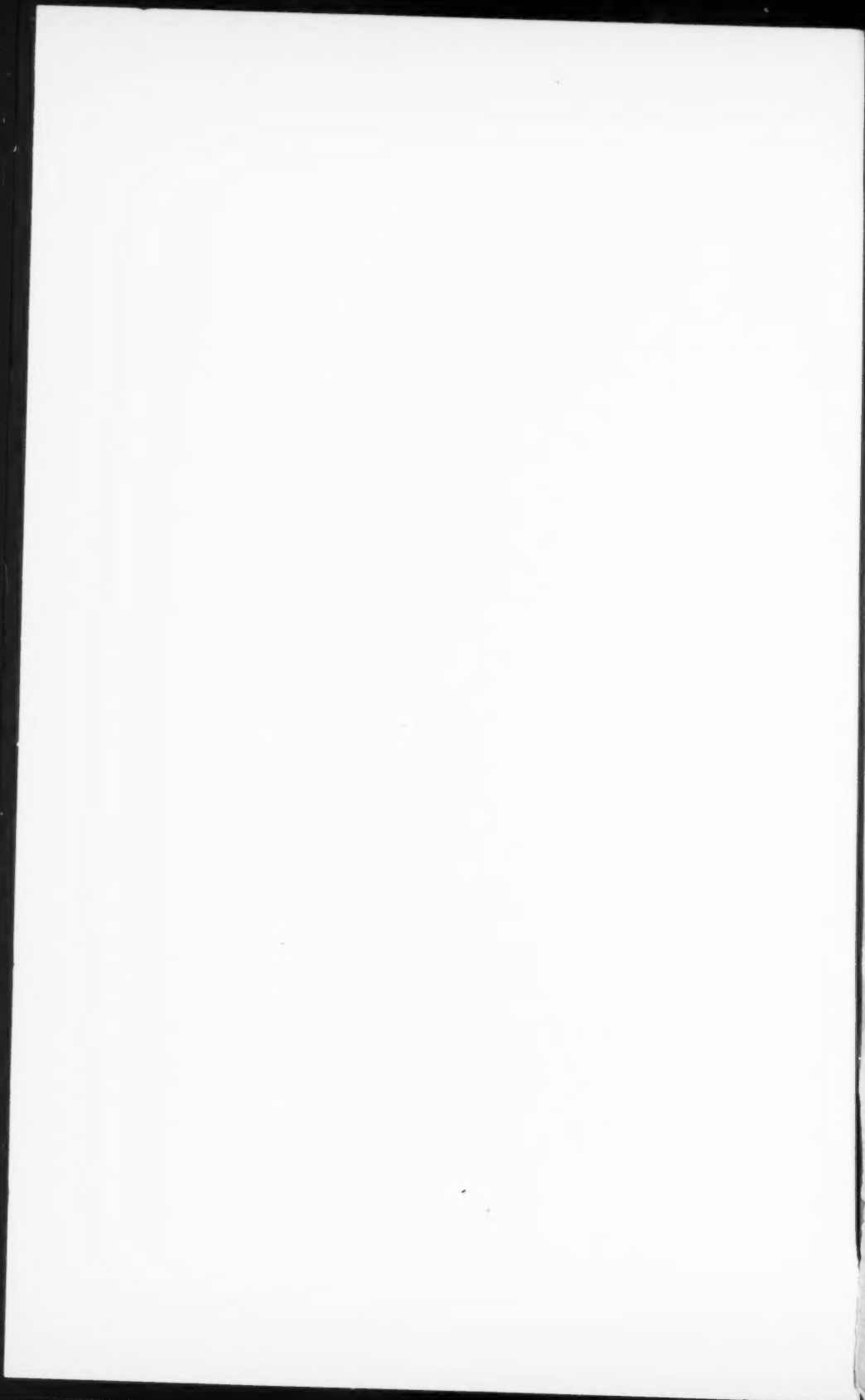
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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. I., No. 1

MARCH, 1920

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, of which this is the first number, is not wholly a new venture. It is, in fact, merely a continuation and development of *The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, an annual survey of Canadian historical literature which has now been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century. The new REVIEW will continue to furnish a critical bibliography of all new publications having reference to Canadian history; but it will be published quarterly instead of annually, and it will extend the work of the earlier periodical by serving as a medium for the publication of original articles on Canadian history and allied subjects, of important documents, and of correspondence relating to questions of interest to students of Canadian history.

The decision to embark on this change was due, in the first instance, to the increasing volume of publications dealing with Canada that have issued from the press in recent years. To review all these publications in a single annual volume has become more and more difficult. It is conceivable that an authoritative review of an important book may be of scarcely less value than the book itself; but a reviewer, in order to write such a review, must have elbow-room. It is hoped that, in a quarterly, it will be possible to give to reviewers of important books the latitude they require; and at the same time to preserve the bibliographical feature of the old *Review* by printing in each number a full annotated list of recent publications relating to Canadian history, important and unimportant.

There were other reasons, moreover, which seemed to suggest that the time was ripe for enlarging the scope of the *Review*. Historical studies in Canada, which were in some respects in their infancy a quarter of a century ago, have become every year more vigorous; and there is now a large body of historical students, not only in Canada, but also in England and the United States, engaged in sifting the vast masses of new material relating to Canadian history which recent years have brought to light. Apart, however, from some admirable French-Canadian periodicals, such as the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, the *Revue Canadienne*, and *Le Canada Français*, there is almost no medium in Canada through which the occasional work of these historical students may be given to the public. In the United States there are many such historical journals. Not only are there periodicals of a national character, like the *American Historical Review*, but many sections of the country, many individual states even, have their own historical quarterlies. It seemed, therefore, a reproach to Canadians—to English-speaking Canadians, at any rate—that they had no similar vehicle for the publication of original materials relating to their own history.

It is intended, for the present, to confine the scope of the REVIEW to Canadian history. But an attempt will be made to interpret this programme in the most liberal sense. As in *The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, not only Canadian history in the stricter sense, but geography, economics, archaeology, ethnology, law, education, and imperial relations, in so far as they relate to Canada, will fall under review. Nor will history in the making be neglected, as against history that is made. It will, moreover, be the aim of the editors to make the REVIEW as broadly national as possible. The services of historical scholars in all parts of the Dominion will be enlisted, both as contributors and as reviewers; and in particular, an attempt will be made to make the REVIEW a connecting link between English-Canadian and French-Canadian scholarship. There is an amount of admirable historical work being done by French Canadians, of which English-speaking Canadians are, unhappily, all too ignorant.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has no editorial opinions. Its object is merely to provide a forum for the discussion of questions relating to Canadian history; and with this object in view, it invites the widest expression of opinion, whether in contributions or in correspondence.

CANADA AND THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

I. BRITISH PROTECTION OF CANADA

THE defence of the British Empire is a perplexing problem. Attempts to solve it provoked the great revolution from which came the republic of the United States. This revolution was even more momentous than the French Revolution. Not only did it determine the form of the political institutions of the greater part of the two continents of America, but it was itself also in large measure the cause of the French Revolution. Royalist France was aflame with eagerness for republican principles, as applied in America, to the hurt of a hated rival in Europe. These principles, however, would not remain on the other side of the ocean from France. They crossed to Europe and in the end helped to make France herself a republic. Thus a problem of the internal government of the British Empire expanded into a world problem, the struggle between democracy and aristocracy, between local liberty and centralized control. Ever since, in 1607, English colonists settled in Virginia it has haunted the politics of the British Empire. After a stormy history of three hundred years it has taken on a new character because of the great war which broke out in 1914.

The British Empire, as now we all see, has become a world-wide Commonwealth of Nations. When once the British over the seas attained to importance as states they could not be controlled and directed by the people of Great Britain and the consequent problem of continued union became one of the most searching which statesmanship could face. At the time of the American Revolution most British statesmen would have denied the equality of colonial leaders with themselves. A great landowner, with a vast palace as his home, living in state hardly short of regal, naming to Parliament some of its members, would have smiled at the thought of equality with a plain John Adams or even with the Virginian landowner, George Washington. Compared with an English magnate, these colonists would have had a social and with it a

political standing not greater than that of a simple squire in England. Even a Whig like Horace Walpole would not have included Washington, the colonist, in that charmed high circle, political and social, which to Walpole meant all in the world of interest and moment. Washington, on the other hand, had the stern, the scrupulous pride, which demanded unhesitating recognition of equality.

The ministers of George III told the American colonies that they must provide certain monies for their own defence. The colonies failed to give the required response and then the British Parliament itself undertook to tax them. Any one who knew the colonies could have foreseen the result. At once flamed up the spirit of liberty and independence. They would not be taxed from England; this task only their own legislature should perform; they would perish rather than yield. Perish many of them did; for seven long years they fought to assert their independence; and in the end they broke up in ruin the old British Empire. The lesson was clear enough to him who could read; no branch of the British peoples would be content with anything short of political equality with the others and of complete and direct sovereignty in its own affairs.

Failure, far-reaching and tragic, was the result of the first attempt to lead two widely separated sections of the British peoples to share common responsibilities and burdens. The defect was chiefly in tact and in method. The English colonies were not wanting in the manly spirit which assumes readily the tasks of manhood. It was because they were so manly in outlook that they resented with enduring bitterness the attempt to treat them as wayward and, in the end, as malignant children. In defying George III they assumed burdens and endured losses much heavier than any which would have been involved in obedience. After the American Revolution Britain was left with dependent states for the most part alien from her in blood and tradition and, in the ultimate analysis, held by the power of the sword. There was the germ of the present Indian Empire; there were a few weak and scattered colonies. The British Empire as to-day we know it was still to create and it was to be created in the light of the colossal failure which had led to the republic of the United States.

For a long time after this first disaster no urgent problem existed in regard to the sharing of common burdens. Outside of the United Kingdom there were not, for some scores of years, any British peoples who really mattered. Shattered was that earlier

ideal of overseas states peopled by Britons who treasured as their own the glories of an Imperial England, who were at home in lands widely scattered, but who never renounced the proud British citizenship with memories reaching back into a remote past. Probably when the American colonies broke away there were not a quarter of a million people of British origin living outside of the British Isles. There was no hope that these few people could share the burdens of an imperial state. They were themselves the burden. For a hundred years after the American Revolution, Canada was protected almost wholly at the expense of the British government. The colonies which remained to Britain were in truth what George III had desired the lost colonies to be, children to be protected by the parent and to give in return affection, trust, and obedience. Their political education could begin only when they were populous enough to take care of themselves.

For half a century after the American Revolution a majority of the people of Canada were of French origin with no tradition of British self-government. The British element, however, multiplied. Perhaps fifty or sixty thousand people, chiefly of English, rather than of Irish or Scottish, origin, driven out from the young republics, because of their loyalty to their king, took refuge in Canada. They were reinforced later by Irish and Scottish elements. While Canada was poor, weak in numbers, without importance compared with the wealth and power of the British Isles, it was easy to adhere to the view of parent and child. What the parent chiefly owed to the daughter state was protection, the protection of the strong for the weak. It was, of course, desirable that the people of the colony should, as far as possible, control their own local affairs. Final authority rested, however, with the mother country. It sent out a governor who was intended really to govern. Each colony had its little legislature, but this ought not to take itself too seriously. It could make laws and vote money. Over its doings, even in respect to these things, the governor kept a watchful eye and could at any time block action by refusing his consent to measures proposed. The legislature must do nothing that touched upon more than the internal interests of the colony and the judge of the import of its actions was to be the governor. It was for him to appoint to office and to dismiss from office. He had no ministers in any true sense of the word. There was no colonial cabinet which he must consult. He took advice from whom he would. Why should he not, since

Great Britain was responsible for the well-being of the colony and pledged to protect it from all danger? Of partnership on the part of the colony with Great Britain there was no thought. The strong parent protected a weak child.

By 1850, however, Canada had between three and four million people, a larger population than that of the American colonies at the time of the Revolution. By 1850, too, it had been established, and not without strife and bloodshed, that the legislature of Canada should control completely its internal affairs. For the first time, Canada had a real cabinet. On all purely domestic matters the Governor acted on the advice of his ministers. Outside affairs, however, he attended to himself. When, in 1854, a treaty for reciprocity in trade was to be made with the United States, it was not the Prime Minister of Canada, or any other Canadian minister, who went to Washington to negotiate, but the Governor himself, less as a delegate from the Canadian Cabinet than from that at London, whose nominee he was. In foreign affairs Canada was not supposed to have any voice, though, of course, the British Cabinet would not have imposed on Canada a treaty respecting Canadian trade which Canada did not desire.

The Civil War in the United States, lasting from 1861 to 1865, produced a great effect in Canada. In 1861 when an American ship of war removed from the British mail steamer *Trent* two envoys of the Southern Confederacy on their way to France and Britain and held them prisoners, the horizon was dark with clouds of war. The British government denounced as an outrage the seizure on the high seas of diplomatists who were under the protection of the British flag and demanded peremptorily that they should be released. It looked for a time as if war must follow. Should this happen Canada would inevitably be attacked. It was mid-winter. No ships could ascend the frozen St. Lawrence to Quebec and no railways as yet connected Halifax or St. John, ports open throughout the winter, with the menaced frontier of Canada on the upper St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. It was difficult in such circumstances to send British troops to the point of danger, but from the task the British government did not shrink. British regiments were sent across the sea to Halifax and they went overland in bitter cold in order to reach quickly the points of chief danger near and beyond Montreal. There was no shrinking from Britain's responsibility to defend Canada, and Canada accepted this defence in the spirit that a child shows to a guardian parent.

II. THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL SELF-RELIANCE IN CANADA

War was happily averted, but the menace helped to make the British colonies in North America realize a weakness which was due largely to lack of union. The small provinces on the Atlantic sea-board, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, had each a separate government wholly independent of what was then Canada and is now the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The great West was still a wilderness ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company and outside the pale of Canadian politics. The Civil War made the United States a great military nation. The North was irritated with Great Britain because of the widely extended sympathy of the English ruling class with the aspiration of the South for separation. It was not impossible that one of the aims of the restored Union, with a great army and a consciousness now of strength, would be to insist on a policy which should break any remaining political tie of American States with Europe. As a matter of fact when the Civil War ended, France, planning an empire in Mexico, was given prompt notice to withdraw her forces from that country. It might soon be the turn of Britain to receive warning that the tie with Canada must end and that either a separate Canadian republic must be set up or that the British colonies must enter as states into the American union.

Fear of dictation from the great republic was not, of course, the only motive which led the scattered colonies to think of union. They needed union to save them from obscurity and isolation. Thus it came about that just at the time in 1864 when the North was planning the supreme effort to end the civil war, when Sherman was making his desolating march from Atlanta to the sea, and Grant was nerving himself for the last heavy blows which brought in the end the unconditional surrender of Lee, delegates from the British provinces were in conference at Quebec on the problem of union. Their conference was fruitful, and out of it came, in 1867, the federation since known as the Dominion of Canada. Within a few years it included the West as well as the East. By 1873 Canada was a vast country stretching across the American continent and covering an area as great as the United States.

For a time no change was apparent in the relations with Great Britain of this state so potent in promise. The Canadian people had still the colonial mind. They thought it incumbent on Great Britain to protect them. They liked to see the British red coats

in Canada; and to the petty type of Canadian politician it was an added source of satisfaction that, for the support of these regiments, not a penny came from the Canadian tax-payer. One thing, however, had been settled. The great federation was completely self-governing. The Governor-General, who represented the dignity of the British Crown, no longer made any claim really to govern. He was at Ottawa what the King was at London, the official head of the state with duties chiefly formal and ceremonial. He could act only on the advice of his responsible ministers. The Prime Minister ruled in Canada, as he ruled in England. It soon happened that when a governor undertook of his own motion to pardon a man who was under sentence of death for what was in reality a political crime, due to unsettled conditions in the West, there was a great outcry in Canada against even this vestige of the right on the part of the Governor to act independently of his Canadian advisers and the claim of the right so to act was soon abandoned. Then Canada was governed as Great Britain was governed, by a Parliament to which the Prime Minister was responsible and which might at will dismiss him from office and install his successor.

So far so good; but the most difficult problem remained still unsolved. What should be the relation of Canada to Great Britain? In this problem was wrapped up the larger one of the relations of all other British self-governing states, of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, to Great Britain. Could the relation remain one of subordination? Could a great state, continental in area, continue to be in a dependent position, its defence paid for by the heavily burdened tax-payer of Great Britain? India paid for its own defence, since the cost of the Indian army came from the exchequer of India. Canada, however, paid nothing for the British fleet and the British army which made her secure from attack. During many years there was slight interest in the question. Canada was creating the great railway systems which should bind together the East and the West and her financial power was so strained to meet the vast cost that, for a time, collapse was feared. In such conditions it would have been impossible, except in a time of dire peril, to persuade the Canadian voter to carry any tangible share of the burden of fleet and army. He had, moreover, no sense of impending danger. Down to 1914 war seemed to the average man in Canada an almost impossible thing. When war had actually touched him there had been a partial awakening. This had happened in 1899 when Canadian

regiments were sent to fight in South Africa. The scene of war was, however, remote, and, compared with what we now know, the effort was insignificant. Only in 1914 did the scales fall from the eyes of Canada and she saw the colossal figure of war, naked and menacing, rise up to imperil her own liberty and that of every free people.

In the face of this real peril, there was not a moment's hesitation in Canada as to her duty. It is true to say that in the tense days when the scope of the war was still undecided there was, so far from hesitation, a real fear in Canada that Britain might hold aloof and permit France and Russia alone to face Germany. It is sometimes said that Canada went into the war to help England. To stand by England, Canada was, indeed, resolved, but many Canadians resented the idea that she was merely helping England. Canadian soldiers thanked by English hosts for the help they had brought to the old land were annoyed rather than pleased. They had gone to fight for England no more than Scots or Irishmen had gone to fight for England. Partners with England in a great crusade? Yes. But fighting for England? No—except in the sense that England and Canada were fighting for each other.

What, we may again ask, was to be the relation of a self-reliant and proud nation in America to a self-reliant and proud nation in Europe, both of them owing allegiance to the same sovereign? It could not remain that of colony and mother country. The Canadian soldier in Flanders or France had no feeling that he was protected by a powerful mother land, the feeling which would have expressed the truth in regard to the Canada of an earlier period. Even so recently as in the South African war, though Canadian regiments had served in the British army, they had been paid not by Canada but by Great Britain. Now, in the Great War, Canada, for the first time, paid her own way as Britain and France paid their own way. For the first time the Canadian people subscribed for great loans to their own government to carry on the war. Hitherto a debtor nation, Canada became in part a creditor nation. She made vast quantities of munitions of war. Hitherto her manufacturers had not ventured upon some of the more delicate work in, for instance, steel, but now they made complex and difficult products. The young nation was showing itself competent. Its soldiers proved equal to the best. The officers, most of them civilians before the war, quickly acquired skill and enterprise in making war. What was to be the political expression of this national vitality?

III. CHANGES IN THE BRITISH CABINET SYSTEM

The Great War tested the machinery of all governments. In no very long time Russia broke down completely and fell into anarchy. So also, in measure which we hardly yet understand, collapsed in succession Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and finally Germany. These countries were not merely defeated. In earlier wars nations have been defeated with no striking changes in the fabric of their governments. The strain, however, of this war, on a scale unique in human history, involved the break-up of many states, the fall of dynasties, the total collapse of political institutions. That the states which proved so stable as to win unexampled victory should yet change was to be expected, and in none of the victorious states have the changes been more remarkable than in Great Britain and the British Empire.

Long before the war broke out there had been plans for co-operation among the different states of the Empire both in time of peace and in time of war. In 1887 sat for the first time what came to be known as the Imperial Conference. Here representatives of all the self-governing states discussed matters of common interest, chiefly relating to communications and to trade. The great achievement of the Conference on Imperial Defence in 1909 was that it confronted this acute problem and later led to the creation of the Imperial Defence Committee. This Committee provided a means for counsel and coöperation among the various states of the Empire to meet the emergency of war. But in Canada, at least, it was never taken very seriously. The conviction of the unreflecting and uninformed that civilized states had outgrown war and that no great conflict was likely proved particularly strong in Canada as it did among similar classes in the United States. Between 1909 and 1914 there had been hot debates in Canada as to the creation of a Canadian navy or, failing this, a sharing of the burdens of the British navy. Little was done, and when the dark clouds broke in 1914 Canada was unprepared to meet the crisis.

Great Britain herself was not prepared and equipped for war upon the land. Even for war upon the sea, as now we know, her equipment was, in some respects, inferior to that of Germany. In learning the art of war she passed through profound modification in her government. She began the war under party government, with a Liberal ministry headed by Mr. Asquith. Within less than a year party government proved impossible. On May

25, 1915, a coalition ministry was announced in which sat Liberal, Conservative, and Labour members. Mr. Lloyd George, as Minister of Munitions, inspired fiery energy in production. Beyond the British Isles, too, every possible stimulus was applied. When in July, 1915, the Prime Minister of Canada went to London, evidence of the urgent need of unity in work throughout the whole Empire was found in the taking of a new step. He was invited by Mr. Asquith to attend the meetings of the British Cabinet. There was no precedent for this sitting in the Cabinet of Great Britain of a Prime Minister who was at the head of a separate ministry overseas.

At the same time other precedents were going by the board. In 1915 the existing British Parliament prolonged its own life beyond the statutory term of five years and, in fact, continued to sit for eight years, until the election of December, 1918. A little later Canada took similar action. Meanwhile even coalition government was proving ineffective since it laboured under the cumbrous methods of the days of peace. The coalition Cabinet formed in Great Britain in May, 1915, contained twenty-two members. It was too large and met too infrequently to direct from day to day the vast energies engaged in the war. It tried the plan of giving to a small War Council of five members the direction of the war. This council was a committee of the larger Cabinet and reported to that body. The members of the smaller body with the Prime Minister as its head were most of them heads of departments. Their burden was too heavy. The summer of 1916, which saw the great offensive on the Somme, brought to Britain depression and disillusion, for it showed that not yet were the allies able to strike effectively at the military power of Germany.

It thus happened that the end of 1916 saw a startling change in British politics. On December 1, Mr. Lloyd George wrote to the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, urging that the conduct of the war should be placed in the hands of a small body consisting of four members. So far as the carrying on of the war was concerned this body was really to be the government. It was a bold innovation when Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the Prime Minister, with his many other duties, should not be a member of this committee. This action brought the fall of Mr. Asquith's government. On December 7, Mr. Lloyd George himself became Prime Minister, and Mr. Asquith and many Liberal members retired from the coalition government. On December 9 met for the first time the small War Cabinet now created to direct Britain's effort in the war.

The four active members were to be free from the care of departments of government. They were Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, with Mr. Henderson as the representative of Labour. Mr. Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, was also to be a member, but he was chiefly to concern himself with the task of leader of the House of Commons.

Mr. Lloyd George, in insisting that a small body of men should direct the war, aimed to ensure undivided energy in reaching the needed decisions of a momentous crisis. He did not call it a committee of the old Cabinet. This would mean that it should report to the larger body and be subject to its authority, while, in fact, the opposite was the case, that the smaller body itself had final authority and gave instructions to the ministers who composed the former Cabinet. The name War Cabinet expressed with exactitude the fact that this Cabinet existed to meet the crisis of war and thus controlled all branches of government. It was to direct war policy. The ministers most immediately concerned with waging war were not members. It is indeed a paradox that the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty were not in the War Cabinet. Because they had charge of great departments they were fully occupied with their duties. It was the function of the War Cabinet to determine what they should do.

There were some who urged that the War Cabinet should not absorb all the powers of government, but that side by side with it there should be a second cabinet to deal with domestic affairs. The idea of two cabinets dividing between them the authority of government was assuredly an innovation as great as that of a small cabinet in which sat none of the heads of great departments. Two cabinets were, however, impossible for, as Lord Curzon said in a debate on the cabinet in the House of Lords on June 19, 1918, "it is simply out of the question to draw a line of division, of demarcation, as between what are domestic questions and what are war questions. Nine-tenths of the questions which are commonly called domestic, which would be domestic in peace times, are war questions now." Such matters as food production, shipping, labour, taxation, were vitally connected with war. The War Cabinet was in consequence supreme. The heads of great departments, themselves of cabinet rank, became its servants. At such innovations champions of the old order were staggered. The whole work of the Empire, said Lord Middleton, in the debate, has fallen "on the shoulders of half a dozen oligarchs." The heads of the great ministries, unchecked by

sitting with their colleagues in a cabinet, had become, he said, autocrats in their departments. The War Cabinet created at will new government departments. Real cabinet government, said Lord Lansdowne, "had disappeared altogether and with it the good sound doctrine of the collective responsibility of the government of the day."

The War Cabinet involved changes of method which were equally startling. The old cabinet was a gathering, informal and confidential, of ministers to discuss public affairs with the Prime Minister and with each other. We do not formally record decisions, even the most momentous, arising from a casual meeting of friends. Every one present understands the topics discussed. All that is said is confidential and, among gentlemen, what is agreed upon in such a way will be binding. The cabinet had been a gathering of this kind. There was no secretary, no minutes were kept of the business transacted, no notice was given to the members of the business for which a meeting was called. A score or so of gentlemen came together, each of them occupied with important matters, each of them probably anxious to have on his business the counsel and decisions of the Cabinet, no one of them, except possibly the Prime Minister, knowing what business must be settled. The meetings were secret. No one might divulge anything that happened. Except on very rare occasions no one not a member sat with the Cabinet to give counsel based upon expert knowledge. The Prime Minister was supposed to remember all the decisions reached, with no written record to confirm or correct his impressions. It was, indeed, the custom that he should send a private letter to the King informing him of the business done. But this letter was for the King's eye alone and was not available for proof of what the Cabinet had decided. The inevitable result was that at times few really knew what the Cabinet had done. Members had often a completely wrong impression of the result of their deliberations. Such defects, bad enough in time of peace, were likely to prove ruinous in time of war. The need of change was urgent.

A cabinet of five may be as inefficient as a cabinet of a score if the right men are not found to serve. Granted the insight and driving power of genius, a cabinet of one might be better than a cabinet of six. Napoleon Bonaparte was his own cabinet. There was no magic in a small cabinet. Everything depended upon the members. Not only was it important that they should be able; it was also necessary that they should be free from other cares.

The War Cabinet was in practically continuous session. The members remained in London. They denied themselves pleasant, leisurely week-ends in the country. Sometimes meetings were held twice daily; always they were held once, except on Sunday. Lord Curzon said on June 19, 1918, that in four hundred and seventy-four days there had been five hundred and fifty-five meetings; that two rules were steadily kept in view, one to summon to the Cabinet the ministers, the generals, admirals and other experts who could give desired information and advice, the other to postpone nothing until to-morrow which could be decided to-day. The old Cabinet, pressed for time, divided by various views, unable to bring collected and prolonged attention to a problem, was likely to find refuge in delay. The War Cabinet, knowing the mischief of delay, was true to the policy of prompt decision. So fully had they carried it out, Lord Curzon added, that sometimes on Saturday there was no need to meet. All the business of the week had been despatched. He added, with perhaps a touch of humour, that the Irish question could not be settled in this summary way. But what could be settled was settled promptly by the War Cabinet. If departments differed the Cabinet at once decided the issue.

IV. THE SUMMONING OF THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

Britain's part in the war was not, however, the affair only of Great Britain. On this vast problem the whole British Empire was united. The Empire justly prides itself on the diversity of its interests and the variety of its governments. There are few questions in relation to which a common policy for the whole is even desirable. In war, however, unity of direction is the condition of success. Four great nations, Britain, the United States, France and Italy found, in the end, that to defeat Germany they must be united under a single lead. The armed forces of the British Empire were, from the first, under one supreme command and a War Cabinet which directed the efforts of Great Britain alone would not meet the realities of the war. On assuming office, Mr. Lloyd George had this in mind. He became Prime Minister on December 7, 1916. A week later, on December 14, he issued a call to the whole British Empire, including India, to send representatives to London for a conference on the war.

He did more, however, than summon this Imperial War Conference. War brings prompt and sometimes high-handed decisions. The War Cabinet had just been formed in England. Mr. Lloyd George did not ask the other Prime Ministers whether they would sit in a War Cabinet. He simply cabled to the Governments concerned: "Your Prime Minister will be a member of the War Cabinet." The war had reached perhaps its most critical point. The year 1917 brought a terrible crisis and its early days were full of thronging hopes, anxieties and fears. The United States had not yet entered the war. Russia was on the verge of collapse. The allies were preparing for the mighty effort which resulted in the stupendous sacrifices and the apparently meagre gains of that year. In such circumstances for Canada to have disregarded the call to united counsel and action would have been criminal. Sir Robert Borden and the Prime Ministers of other Dominions, with the exception of Mr. Hughes, detained in Australia by an election, hastened to London and there on March 20, 1917, was brought into actual being the Imperial War Cabinet.

On March 21, the day after the first meeting, *The Times* had a glowing article: "Imperial Rome, or Modern Germany for the matter of that, would have stage-managed such an event very differently. There would have been triumphant processions and elaborate banquets to mark it . . . The new world is to redress the balance of the old. . . . The great European problems which fall to be settled by the verdict of war . . . are henceforth problems for Canada and New Zealand and the other Dominions as well as Great Britain. . . . The War Cabinet which is now meeting is an executive cabinet for the Empire [*sic*]. It is invested with full responsibility for the prosecution of the war, including questions of Foreign Policy, of the provisioning of troops and munitions and of war finance. It will settle Imperial policy as to the time of peace." Mr. Lloyd George declared that the meeting of this "Imperial War Cabinet" marked "the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Empire." On one thing every one concerned laid special emphasis. The old colonial relation between Great Britain and the other free states of the Empire was definitely ended. The Prime Minister of the parent state, of course, took precedence of all others. He was, however, only *primus inter pares*. Next to him ranked the Prime Minister of Canada, the most populous self-governing state in the Empire after Great Britain. When the Prime Minister of Great Britain was absent the Prime Minister of Canada was to preside. Mr.

Lloyd George was careful to declare in the House of Commons on March 17, 1917, that the status of the Dominion ministers was one "of absolute equality with that of the members of the British War Cabinet." The whole situation respecting the war was laid bare to the members of the Imperial War Cabinet,—all secret treaties and other commitments, the plans for conducting the war, the possible conditions of peace.

There were, no doubt, anomalous features in the Imperial War Cabinet. It was, in reality, the Cabinet of Great Britain, said adverse critics; a few Dominion ministers were present, by courtesy, but the really directing force was in the members who represented only Great Britain. This statement was fortified by the fact that later when the Imperial War Cabinet was in session it took the place of the small War Cabinet created by Mr. Lloyd George and might decide respecting the internal and domestic affairs of Great Britain. It was surely an anomaly that Sir Robert Borden from Canada and General Botha from South Africa should be present at deliberations respecting possibly the control of food or the supply of coal in the British Isles. The word Cabinet, objectors added, could properly be applied only to a body responsible to a single electorate. Here were a number of Prime Ministers, named each of them by a separate electorate. In the past a cabinet could be turned out of office by the adverse vote of the legislative body representing the electorate. How could the Imperial War Cabinet be reached in a similar way?

Sir Robert Borden, speaking in London on June 21, 1918, endeavoured to answer these criticisms:

"It has been said that the term 'Imperial War Cabinet' is a misnomer." But, he added, "the word 'Cabinet' is unknown to the law. The meaning of 'Cabinet' has developed from time to time. For my part I see no incongruity whatever in applying the term 'Cabinet' to the association of Prime Ministers and other Ministers who meet around a common council board to debate and to determine the various needs of the Empire. If I should attempt to describe it I should say it is a Cabinet of Governments. Every Prime Minister who sits round that board is responsible to his own Parliament and to his own people; the conclusions of the War Cabinet can only be carried out by the Parliaments of the different nations of our Imperial Commonwealth". "New conditions", said Sir Robert Borden at another time, "must be met by new precedents." The modern British Empire, he pointed out, was a new type of organization. Canada had had self-

government for only three-quarters of a century, and it was only fifty years since the first experiment of federal government had been made within the Empire. Only since 1878 had Canada negotiated her own commercial treaties.

In 1917 the Imperial War Cabinet had fourteen sittings. During the same period was in session the Imperial War Conference, for the exchange of views on Imperial problems. The visiting Prime Ministers divided their time between the two bodies. When the sessions ended, Mr. Lloyd George announced in the House of Commons that the experiment had proved successful and that at least annual meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet would be held. "I ought to add", he said, "that the institution in its present form is extremely elastic. It grew, not by design, but out of the necessities of the war. . . . To what constitutional developments this may lead we do not attempt to settle."

Had the war ended in 1917 this first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet might well also have been the last, for, at any rate, the word "war" would have been eliminated from the title. A world safe from the menace of a great military power like Germany would require less close coöperation between states of the British Empire than would the old dangerous world out of which had come the Great War. Circumstances, however, gave greater permanence to the Imperial War Cabinet. After the meeting in 1917 there was no hope of an early peace. Russia passed into deeper anarchy. Its Bolshevik government made peace with Germany and drifted in time into actual war with the Allies. Germany crushed Roumania and forced her to make a humiliating peace. The entry of the United States into the war in April, 1917, was a cheering contrast to these disastrous events in Europe. It was, however, soon evident that a year or more must elapse before the military help of the United States should become effective. The British Commonwealth was still in deadly peril, and the need was imperative for further united effort.

In 1917, when Sir Robert Borden returned to Canada from the Imperial War Conference, he announced his conviction that to meet the urgent need of men for the Canadian army compulsory military service must be adopted. By this time party government in Canada was seen to be as difficult as much earlier it had proved in England. In October, 1917, Conservatives and Liberals united to form a Union Government. Compulsory military service had already been adopted by the Canadian Parliament and an election, in December, 1917, gave a mandate to the government to go on

with the war to the utmost of the resources of the people of Canada. The months following were months of difficulty. The province of Quebec was intensely hostile to conscription, and the obstacles to the enforcement there of the Military Service Act were formidable. March, 1918, was a black month for the British Empire. On the 21st of that month the Germans made their great offensive at St. Quentin. They took about one hundred thousand prisoners and captured, it was said, one-fifth and, by some reports, one-third, of the total war equipment of the British armies in France and Flanders. It was the worst disaster which has ever befallen British arms. Yet in this grim hour of defeat the British peoples looked out undismayed, with no thought other than that of fighting on in the great cause.

It thus happened that the outlook was troubled when the second meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet began in London in June, 1918. There was a notable gathering in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords on Friday, June 21, to welcome the visiting Prime Ministers. Thirteen present and past Prime Ministers of British states were present. Mr. Lloyd George spoke of his privilege at presiding over the Imperial War Cabinet. "Sitting around that table," he said, "you find representatives of over 400,000,000 of human beings, most of the great races of the world represented, most of the great faiths of the world, an aggregation of many nations and their representatives brought together at this Council to concert the best methods for establishing right and justice on the earth." By this time the organization of the Cabinet had assumed more definite form. India and the Dominions had each two members with the exception of Newfoundland, which, because of its small population, had only one. The principle had been adopted that, when in session, the Imperial War Cabinet should take the place of the British War Cabinet, a much smaller body. In the Imperial War Cabinet sat the British Ministers connected with Foreign Affairs, with Defence, on land and sea and in the air, and with India. The Secretary of State for the Colonies sat there to represent the smaller states of the Empire not self-governing. The Imperial War Cabinet was thus a large body. It was, however, concerned only with policy, not with details of administration. Each day was printed a record of the business transacted on the previous day. Each day, too, the members found before them a carefully prepared statement of the business to come before their meeting.

Since the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet were secret the public was not informed of its operations. It invited Canada to send a force to Siberia, a decision which involved what would have been thought incredible in the time of George III, that officers and men of the British army should serve under a Canadian command. In order that counsel on Imperial affairs might be continuous it was decided that each Dominion, at its discretion, might keep a minister of cabinet rank in London to sit in the Imperial War Cabinet. The reality of the sharing of responsibility was seen in the fact that ministers from Canada and other Dominions went to France for a session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles which directed all the military operations of the allies. The Imperial War Conference, meeting at the same time, decided a vexed problem concerning India. Some British countries, anxious to keep their population European in character, had refused to receive East Indians as immigrants. This had caused great irritation in India. The remedy was found by giving India similar powers of restriction. Each country might, if it liked, exclude settlers from the other and thus the pride of each was saved. The Conference decided that the Dominion Prime Ministers might carry on direct relations with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom without these passing through the Colonial Office. This carried farther the idea of nations freely communicating with each other, without any departmental control.

The armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and by November 20 the Imperial War Cabinet in its third series of meetings was considering the terms of peace. It had been the practice of the Cabinet to receive at its deliberations persons likely to give wise counsel, and it was an impressive occasion when, on December 3, the Cabinet met Marshal Foch and M. Clémenceau, the Prime Minister of France. The days of greatest strain were, however, ended. The war had resulted in victory, astounding in its suddenness and completeness. There remained the intricate problems of peace. When the Peace Conference opened at Paris in January, 1919, not formally, but certainly in reality, the Imperial War Cabinet transferred its sessions to Paris under the name of the British Empire Delegation. In the frequent absence of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden presided. When the time came for signing the peace treaty the Dominion ministers with the full support of all the members of the Imperial War Cabinet insisted that as each Dominion was in reality a nation which could be bound only by the action of its own ministers the

peace must be signed by each unit separately. Observers were puzzled by the anomalous British Empire which at one time was a unit under a single sovereign, the King-Emperor, and at another time stood as half a dozen independent units. Not without the firm pressure of Canada's Prime Minister, was her status and that of the other Dominions recognized by other nations. A similar difficulty was met and overcome when Canada insisted upon a separate status in the International Labour Conference, a creation of the Treaty of Peace, and also in the League of Nations. That the British Empire had six votes in the League of Nations was seized upon by anti-British elements in the United States and was one of the chief reasons why the American Senate took objection to the Peace Treaty, without reservations which the President regarded as destructive.

VI. THE FUTURE

Such is the story of the Imperial War Cabinet. It is a far cry from the early years of the nineteenth century, when Canada was a small dependent colony, to those days in Paris in 1919 when the Prime Minister of Canada presided over the British Peace Delegation in its deliberations concerning a new settlement of the world. The title of the Imperial War Cabinet already belongs to the past, and we may hope that it need never be revived. The experiences of war have become, however, the endowment of all the peoples of the British Commonwealth. For a moment memory may be invoked to recall the strife of the American Revolution and to ask what might have been the story of modern civilization in Europe and America had an Imperial Council sat in 1775 and 1776 to understand and adjust the differences of that epoch. Regrets are vain, and sometimes it is well to forget. But if we forget the past, we shall be wise to remember the future. The states which make up the British Empire form, at last, a real league of nations, among whom war is impossible, who are united on terms of equality, who, while held together by common traditions and loyalties, are free to remain distinct nations with differences of national outlook and national temper. Those who have dreamed of younger Englands in all parts of the world will never see their dream realized. They will see something richer in promise—varied types of British nations within a single commonwealth.

The problem of union among these different types is not easy. There is in each a national spirit which grows stronger as the tradition of separate life lengthens. In the pride of its independence a young nation is apt to fear that attempts at close unity with the older Britain may involve in one direction limitations, in another the assuming of responsibilities not in harmony with its own interests. There is, too, in the younger states the sensitive dread of patronage from the older society, the fear that nominal union may only mean real subordination. There are elements in Canada which do not like the thought of a possible Imperial Cabinet in London, for they fear that a Canadian representative, in the atmosphere of an old capital, where rank and tradition count for much, may lose touch with the plain people of Canada. They fear the corroding effect of social ambitions and of imperial designs in the crowded centre of a great world commonwealth.

There is no doubt that during the last two years of the war British coöperation had been better than before, and credit for this must be given to the counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet. The Cabinet had been looking far ahead and had plans for a campaign in 1919 and even in 1920. It is clear also that Canada and the other Dominions often brought to these counsels a view more detached than was prevalent in war-worn Europe and that in this way British policy was greatly influenced. Each Prime Minister had to support a policy which he could justify to his own people; and what Australia and Canada were likely to think had a real weight in British policy. In this respect the directing body was appropriately named a Cabinet. It was not delegated agents, but men directly responsible each to his own electorate, who carried the weight of British policy in the later years of the war.

By some the Imperial War Cabinet was regarded as defective because it had not behind it the authority of an elected Parliament to represent the whole British Empire. The conclusion was deduced that to make an Imperial Cabinet real there must be created an Imperial electorate choosing a legislative body for a federated Empire. Then would there be a Cabinet in harmony with earlier ideas of the nature of a Cabinet. The Prime Minister of the British Empire would be surrounded by cabinet colleagues coming from the various units of the Empire who would be heads of Imperial administrative departments, Secretaries of State for war, Admiralty, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Commerce and Communications. This Cabinet would really govern through organs of its own and the whole British Empire, containing one quarter of mankind,

would speak through its Imperial legislature and its Imperial cabinet ministers.

We may leave the ideal of complete legislative and executive separation side by side with that of complete legislative and executive union. We are living in a real world, at perhaps the moment most intense and vital in the whole history of man, and we cannot measure the forces which control the future. The British peoples have made terrible sacrifices for common ideals. In these great days they have not been careful about theories of government, they have not been jealous in respect to the exercise of authority and control if such exercise promised to aid in achieving the great ends for which they were together battling. In a sense the British peoples are idealists. During this great struggle nothing more inspired them than the magic of the words freedom and justice. For what is meant by these words, millions of Britons have been stricken on the fields of battle, and hundreds of thousands have died. But these idealists are also experimental and practical. They care little for the theory so long as the needed thing is done. What they ask is not whether a method is exactly in line with precedent, but whether it will work.

One thing is certain. We are not going back to the old ways. No British Cabinet will ever again carry on its business as did the Cabinet before the war. This the recent Cabinet has definitely announced. Periods of great excitement and strain are always followed by reaction. Never, however, when a profound new experience has shaken society, does the old outlook in reality return. In such eras something new comes into the souls of nations. The Great War has helped to unfold to the British people the mystery of themselves. They have realized forces, of the existence of which they were hardly aware. There was mystery in that sudden coming together in thought when they stood on the brink of the Great War. Any one who had prophesied that this common spirit of aspiration and sacrifice would have been so unhesitating, so complete, would hardly have been believed. It was known and realized only in the moment of actual experience.

Its meaning for the future is also still a mystery. To many the Great War, which has brought together British armies from all parts of the world, has really helped to make the peoples thus represented recognize their differences. It is said that the Australian and the Canadian soldier when in contact developed acute antagonism. Many a Canadian, who had in imagination idealized England and its people, returned to his home with a sense of dis-

illusion sometimes bitter. Yet in spite of this the British peoples were one. Probably we tend in smooth and easy days to underestimate the effect of the deep roots of unbroken tradition which nourish the life of a nation. The liberties of Canada have come, not without struggle, slowly from precedent to precedent based on parallel changes in Britain herself. It is the same in Australia. What these young states thus prize most in their own life is what Britain itself prizes most and it has involved no rupture with the long past or with the parent state. There is among all of them continued unity in tradition and political development. In the moment of crisis they could not, with such traditions, do other than think alike on the great question of human liberty.

Every part of the British Empire did well and bravely the work which fell to it. The supreme sacrifices fell, however, on Britain herself. She met them in a spirit which made the British peoples everywhere proud to be bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh. Her fleet guarded all the seas and kept them open for herself and every allied nation as well as for neutrals. Thousands even of her civilian sailors perished. On land she fought in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. When almost all of her male population of fighting age and about one in six of her total population took up arms, her women occupied their places in work at home. She so kept up her production that she paid out of current revenues a greater portion of the cost of the war than any other nation but the United States. When herself well-nigh bankrupt by the strain of war she continued to lend to needy allies. In the last year of the war Germany, recognizing that Britain was her deadliest foe in Europe, threw against her two-thirds of the German fighting forces in the West. More than two million casualties and a million dead were the awful cost that the British paid. Yet from the British Isles which bore most of this sacrifice came no word of complaint of an undue share of burden, or of boasting over what Britain had achieved.

It is too early to assume that in the Imperial War Cabinet we have the lines of a solution of the method of coöperation. Probably both it and the War Cabinet of Great Britain during the last years of the war were as effective means as could have been devised at the time for attaining the ends in view. The report for 1918 of the small body which directed the war effort of Great Britain gives an amazing record of achievement. In that year 1,359 new tanks were delivered and a much larger number would have been ready in 1919. The tonnage of ships completed in the year amounted

to a million and a half, three times the amount of 1916. In the great German advance of March, 1918, the British lost a vast number of guns but, by the time the German offensive ended in July, the British had in France 700 more guns than they had when the offensive began. They had to reduce their transport at home by sending across the Channel 12,000 railway wagons with the needed locomotives. They were forced to take 54,000 men from the railways, and 80,000 from the mines for military purposes. Yet production increased, and during the year the British people paid in taxes the vast sum of about \$4,500,000,000.

All this shows that the War Cabinet directed British energies with effect. There were, however, special difficulties in ruling through this small body. Its members had to summon experts in every branch of effort and these consultations involved sometimes more advisers than those in the old Cabinet. The men wholly detached from executive duties could not always determine the lines of policy as well as could those actually at the head of departments and, since these were not deliberating together, coördination in effort was sometimes lost. The War Cabinet worked effectively during the strain of war and it ceased to exist soon after the war was over. The Imperial War Cabinet also did well in a great crisis. Its chief virtue was in its quality as a gathering of Prime Ministers who could speak with authority for their governments. No one as well as a Prime Minister could make a quick and authoritative decision. In time of peace, however, for Prime Ministers to meet even annually in London would involve possibly fatal neglect of their tasks at home. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 agreed that a Conference to deal specially with the whole question should meet after the war; and this body will probably assemble during the year 1920 or 1921.

The future will, without doubt, bring changes startling to minds bound by precedent. It has long been held in the official world that foreign affairs, at least, must be in the control of one central government. Yet the Canadian government has announced its intention of creating the germ of a diplomatic service, and the near future is likely to see in the American capital a representative of Canada negotiating with the government in regard to business with Canada as the British Ambassador negotiates in regard to business with Great Britain. The two envoys will act together in matters common to both and Canada will assuredly have an increased weight because of her ties with Britain. The world will only slowly understand the meaning

of the words of General Smuts that on August 4, 1914, the British Empire died. Out of the torture of war have come the free, equal, and united states of the British Commonwealth. This equality must involve in the end not only equality of privilege but also equality of responsibility and sacrifice; and it is along this road that Canada must travel.

GEORGE M. WRONG

NOTES ON THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE, 1864¹

OUR knowledge of the proceedings at the Conference on the confederation of the British North American provinces, held at Quebec in October, 1864, is far from satisfactory. The sittings were held behind closed doors, and little except the official Report of Resolutions adopted was made public at the time. Sir Joseph Pope found among the papers of Sir John Macdonald a mass of documents relating to the Conference, including printed draft Minutes of Proceedings, up to October 20; the original rough minutes in the handwriting of the Executive Secretary, Lieut.-Col. Hewitt Bernard; Col. Bernard's notes of speeches and other proceedings; the original texts of motions and amendments; and many other memoranda. From these he published, in his *Confederation Documents*, the "Minutes of Proceedings" and the "Discussions", which together form our chief source of information as to what happened in the Conference. They are, however, obviously incomplete. The Minutes are quite meagre, and, towards the end of the Conference, are in places entirely wanting. The "Discussions", based on the long-hand notes of Col. Bernard, are necessarily fragmentary. Any further evidence is, therefore, of peculiar importance.

The following document is an account of the proceedings by the Hon. A. A. Macdonald, one of the delegates from Prince Edward Island, drawn up from his own notes taken at the Conference.

A. G. DOUGHTY

[*Transcript.*]

From notes taken at the Quebec Conference held at Quebec on October 10, 1864. (*By A. A. Macdonald*).

On the assemblage of the delegates from all the Provinces at the Parliament building in Quebec there were present besides the ministers of the two Upper Provinces seven delegates from New Brunswick five from Nova Scotia seven from Prince Edward Island and two from Newfoundland.

¹From the Papers of Sir John A. Macdonald in the Public Archives of Canada.

It was moved by Colonel Gray, who had been Chairman of the Conference at Charlottetown and seconded by Mr. Tilley that Sir E. P. Taché should be Chairman and carried unanimously.

Hon. Dr. Tupper then moved that Hon. Wm. Pope, delegate from P.E.I., be appointed secretary which was agreed to.

After some discussion as to mode of procedure it was decided that besides the secretary for the whole convention an additional secretary should be appointed for each Province.

A certified list of the delegates representing each province was handed in and tabled.¹

Sir E. P. Taché, Chairman then addressed the delegates and welcomed them to Quebec.² He said that the object of the Conference was to do away with some of the internal hindrances to trade, and to unite the Provinces for mutual defence. Without unity of action and comity of sentiment a great Country could not expect to exist. The majority of the people believe if their rights and privileges are left to the local Legislatures they will be safe in the liberties guaranteed to them and ratified by solemn treaties even if we do not come to an understanding on the subject of confederation. He hoped that this meeting of the leading statesmen of the British Provinces who are here assembled may be productive of an amount of good that will be beneficial in the highest degree "to all the Provinces."

A lengthy discussion followed as to the means of voting on such questions as were to be considered. Were the delegates to vote individually, or should the votes be given by Provinces! Should each Province have the same status whether large or small in deciding a question respecting which there were different views! Were the members of the Conference to first express their opinions in the general meeting! Were the senior members to explain what had been already done! The discussion of these preliminaries having taken up some time. It was finally agreed that each Province should have one vote. That free discussion should be allowed. That the delegates from each Province might retire to discuss among themselves any question before voting, etc., etc. It was also decided that the Conference should meet at 11 o'clock a.m. daily and sit continuously until 4 p.m. (fifteen minutes being allowed for a light lunch in the room adjoining.)

¹ The following is a list of the delegates:

CANADA.—Sir E. P. Taché, John A. Macdonald, G. E. Cartier, George Brown, Oliver Mowat, Alexander T. Galt, W. McDougall, T. D'Arcy McGee, Alex. Campbell, J. C. Chapais, H. L. Langevin, J. Cockburn.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Charles Tupper, William A. Henry, Jonathan McCully, Robert B. Dickey, Adams G. Archibald.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Samuel L. Tilley, W. H. Steeves, J. M. Johnson, P. Mitchell, E. B. Chandler, John H. Gray, Charles Fisher.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—F. B. T. Carter, Ambrose Shea.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—J. H. Gray, E. Palmer, W. H. Pope, A. A. Macdonald, G. Coles, T. H. Haviland, E. Whelan.

² Nothing of the speeches and discussion of the first day is found in Bernard's notes.

Hon. G. E. Cartier then gave an exposition of the first delegation to Charlottetown and what followed until the Conference had reassembled now at Quebec. He said: We thought if the Legislatures of the different Provinces were brought together they would legislate more for the general advantage. The United Provinces have about 4½ millions of inhabitants we have therefore the personal element which is essential. Then it is evident that no nation can attain great power without the Maritime element. We must have Commercial intercourse with Europe during more than six months of the year. You who live down by the sea have seaports open all the year round and it is better that you should have the benefit of our trade than that a foreign power should have it. We thought that a Federation scheme was the best because these provinces are peopled by different nations and by peoples of different religions. There is the question of a Tariff for the United Provinces. The regulation of postal communication and rates of postage, national works which might be brought before the general government without detriment and without offending any party or interest. We have now Customs and Tariffs in the different Provinces all now differing from each other each Province looking out only for its own interest. As to defence we all know the position England has assumed towards us. Separated as we are we can not defend ourselves. Cobden and Bright say what is the use of sending an army to defend Prince Edward Island. It would be a great question if England would send an army or bring the power of Britain to defend any province from invasion. When we bring the Country all together all our means would be united to repel an enemy. We would also have the seamen and we would have about 60,000 of them on the St. Lawrence. The position that England has taken now shows that we must be under one system of Government. Our financial interests also demand that we should be united. We all desire that these provinces should be as great as possible. There is always something better to be done something greater to be attained. I would never advocate this Union if I thought we would not thereby perpetrate the power of Queen Victoria in this Province.

Colonel Gray, P.E.I., said: When I spoke of establishing a nationality I only referred to what has been the dream of my life to be one day a citizen of a great nation extending from the Great West to the Atlantic seaboard. He sincerely hoped that the delegates from all the provinces would unite to accomplish this great work. Prince Edward Island was but a small province but it could be to the other Provinces all that the little state of Rhode Island was to the great American Union, etc.

Hon. Mr. Carter, Newfoundland. Spoke in favour of the general principle of Federation and its bearing on Newfoundland which was a Commercial Colony possessed of immense wealth in its Fisheries. Many people had made fortunes there and retired to Britain to spend them. He looked to Federation as opening up a wide field for enterprise in this Continent and it might be the

¹ *Sic*. Doubtless a typist's error. Read "perpetuate".

means of inducing such persons to live here instead of retiring to the old country to spend their fortunes. The debt of the Colony was only £200,000, while the exports are in excess of the imports. The Provincial debentures bearing 5 per cent command a premium. We can supply your navy with seamen for we have a hardy race inured to the dangers of the deep and ready to defend the country when they are required to do so. Our province is larger than either England, Ireland or Scotland and comprises 40,000 square miles.

While I am a member of the administration my co-delegate is a member of the opposition in that Colony but our interests are alike in desiring to do all we can to benefit the Province we come from.

Hon. Mr. Shea, Newfoundland, agreed with Mr. Carter as to the favourable consideration which should be given to the proposed measure. We have the strongest feelings in favour of Confederation and as Newfoundland stands as the key to the Atlantic it is the interest of Canada that we should not be taken hold of by any foreign power. We stand at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the power which holds the Colony would control the trade of the Gulf by both entrances. Our fisheries employ 30,000 men a hardy and industrious class of men unsurpassed for daring and energy by any other seamen in the world. We have 350 vessels engaged in the seal fishery alone with 14,000 men.

Our imports are about six millions and our exports exceed our imports by nearly a million dollars annually. Our Revenue per head is larger than that of any of the other provinces. Our debt does not amount to more than \$900,000. We can raise all the money we want @ $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Our financial position is better I believe than that of the States of the American Union. A very small portion of our imports come from Canada while a very considerable portion come from the United States. Our people have no facilities for trade with Canada, they had to go to the United States. It took a month for a reply to be received to a letter addressed to Canada and the postage was double what it was between Canada and Britain. We looked to Confederation to remedy this state of affairs. "We have what Canada requires and we want the class of goods that Canada can supply." We must have steam packets plying regularly between Canada and the Colony and then trade would soon follow that channel.

Hon. Mr. Galt referred to the observations of previous speakers at some length and the benefits which would be conferred upon all the provinces by a uniformity of tariffs, postage, banking, currency, etc., and gave a number of statistics bearing on the subject. "The Inter-colonial Railway would be the great highway between the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces, if the Union could be accomplished and the road completed. It would be the bond of Union between the East and the West. . . . The debt of Canada was somewhat less per head than that of New Brunswick. In Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island the case is different. It is not so much what the debt of a colony is as what the expenditure is per

head of the population. Provision must be made for the Local Governments. — All the revenue from Customs and Excise would go to the general government. The expenses of the Local Government would be lessened by the works they have now to provide for being lessened. In Canada it was thought the General Government could contribute towards the wants of the local Governments. The debts and taxation of the Provinces offered no material objection in our view. Many of us are of opinion that direct taxation is what is best but we must not insist on our individual opinions.

Mr. Mitchell. I believe it is desirable as a means of perpetuating British rule in these Colonies. We want a general system of currency and Post Office arrangements. We want restrictions of trade removed and that we may be united and act with one mind for the defence of our rights. I hope that no peddling policy will be adopted.

Hon. Mr. Coles. * We must not expect that Prince Edward Island will come into a confederation to be taxed three dollars per head instead of one dollar as at present. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland have the Crown lands and other Revenues which we do not possess in our province. If Prince Edward Island was to give up her excise and customs she would have no revenues left with which to carry on the business of the province.

Hon. Mr. Haviland. We are here to throw away our party views and to look on the questions before us in a broader spirit. As a British American I will go heart and soul for a Federal Union of all the Colonies.

Hon. Mr. Pope. When the proper time arrives to do so I will show how Prince Edward Island will be effected [*sic*] by withdrawing her general revenues.

Hon. Mr. McCully spoke at some length but chiefly as to opinions on Legislative Union which he stated were prevalent in his Province.

Hon. Dr. Tupper thought we should have a fuller exposition from the Canadian Ministry of what was intended at the present time. If it can be shown that the difficulties can be removed I shall be pleased, as it will elevate our Status, improve our social position and enable us to occupy a higher place in the national family. . . .

Hon. John A. McDonald. We all meet here for the purpose of discussing the general principles of a Federal Constitution, leaving it thus open to all parties to express their views freely. Unless the details can be made satisfactory the whole thing must break down.

Hon. Mr. Dickie. The question must depend on what the details are to be and it should be more discussed before we give our vote one way or the other.

✓ Hon. Mr. Brown thought it inexpedient to have a general debate on one resolution and then afterwards the same to be again gone over.

Hon. Dr. Tupper stated the purport of the former Conference at which owing to the statements of gentlemen from Canada it was decided not to report finally until it was known what has been done at the present Conference. . . .

After some further discussion it was decided to adjourn until tomorrow at 11 a.m.

QUEBEC, OCTOBER 11, 1864. (TUESDAY)

Conference opened at 11 a.m.

It was resolved after debate that Mr. H. Barnard should be appointed Executive Secretary to the Conference to keep a record of the official decisions of the Conference.

It was also decided after debate that each Province by whatever number of delegates it was represented should have one vote in deciding all questions except those of order.

Free discussion to be allowed.

Conference to be in committee of the whole.

No discussion allowed after vote taken.

Each Province delegation may retire for consultation.

Afterwards all resolutions to be with speaker in chair.

At close of Conference decision as to publication.

Conference then resumed the consideration of motion in favour of Federal Union as per Resolution¹ and

Hon. John A. McDonald said:² As we can't have the same scale of duty throughout the various provinces, we must continue with hostile tariffs unless we have the Union which is the only alternative. How is this to be done? Now as to the Constitution of the Legislatures we should have two Chambers, an upper and a lower house. In the upper house equality in numbers should be the basis. In the lower house population should be the basis. Upper Canada had at last census 1,400,000, now it has 1,600,000. Lower Canada had then more than 1,000,000, now 1,200,000. Nova Scotia say 350,000. New Brunswick 260,000. Newfoundland 125,000. Prince Edward Island 85,000. Upper Canada would be taken as one division say with 60 members. Lower Canada 60 members and Acadia and Maritime 20 each.

—The mode of appointment to the Upper House—

Many are in favour of Election and many are in favour of appointment by the crown. My own opinion will be made up on having arguments on both sides of the question as my mind is open on the subject. I may say however that I am favourable to appointments by the Crown. I am after experience in both systems in favour of returning to the old system of nomination by the Crown. It is asking too much to require the members of the upper house of each province to extinguish themselves. We have 72 members in the Upper house, 48 elected and balance nominated by the Crown. If a ballot were taken for 20 in the old house to represent in the new house it might answer, or the new house might be elected from the old Upper house. There should be a large property qualification for the Upper house which is then the representative of property.

¹ This Resolution, introduced by John A. Macdonald and S. L. Tilley on October 10, was "That the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces."

² By comparison with the text in Pope's *Confederation Documents* it will be seen that the present writer has omitted all the earlier portion of John A. Macdonald's speech.

It should be an independent body as far as property goes. First election to be made by the present constituency and afterwards qualification of Electors to be fixed by the general parliament. We must have a strong Central Government with all authority except what is given to the local governments in each Province and avoid the errors of the American Constitution.

Hon. Mr. Dickie enquired what authority we have from the British Government to agitate this question. May we not have those advantages we look for without legislative and administrative arrangements . . . referred to flour trade . . . Taxation in Canada is here on roads and bridges and also for education. There is also Municipal taxation besides the general tax; therefore such a measure must increase taxation very materially in the Maritime Provinces and if Municipal taxes are not included in the Canadian statement it must make taxes more than they really appear to be.

(Note) Despatch of 6th July 1862 was read in reply to Mr. Dickie's question.

Hon. Mr. Galt replied at some length: There is no doubt but what the free trade between the Provinces might be extended, even as we are, but it could not be done so effectually. I think it necessary to give certain amounts from the general revenue to local wants.

Hon. Mr. McCully addressed the conference in a long speech but his remarks very general.

Hon. Mr. Brown said he differed in many details which he would discuss in other resolutions when they came up. The first resolution was then unanimously agreed to. The second resolution in favor of Federation of the Provinces with general Government and local Governments for each of the Canada's and for the Maritime Provinces in local matters, with provision of admission of N.W.T., B.C. and Vancouver¹ then submitted by Hon. Mr. Brown who said that the British Government have offered the North West Country to Canada already and that we should open up roads into that Country, etc., etc., etc.

Hon. Mr. Archibald approved of the general principles of allowing the increase of territory as contemplated in the resolution. . . . A good deal of general discussion followed when four o'clock having arrived the Conference adjourned until 11 A. M. to-morrow.

¹ The following is the wording of this Resolution as given in the Minutes:

"That in the Federation of the British North American Provinces the system of government best adapted under existing circumstances to protect the diversified interests of the several Provinces and secure efficiency, harmony and permanency in the working of the Union, would be a General Government, charged with matters of common interest to the whole country; and Local Governments for each of the Canadas and for the Maritime Provinces, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Union on equitable terms of the North-West Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1864.

Conference assembled at 11 A. M.

A number of communications addressed to the Conference by various societies and individuals inviting the Conference to visit public institutions, etc., and also from the press for reports of the proceedings were read and the minutes of previous meetings were agreed to.

A discussion relative to inviting the Western Territory and British Columbia to unite with the Conference then ensued, and thereupon and owing to other circumstances connected with the delegation, the Canadians adjourned to hold an Executive Council meeting.¹ The delegates from the Maritime Provinces remained and discussed a resolution submitted by Hon. George Brown, that the Lower Provinces be admitted as one, and Upper and Lower Canada as one each.²

After considerable debate all the delegates from the Lower Provinces disagreed to this resolution.

Conference adjourned till 11 A. M. to-morrow.

QUEBEC, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1864.³

Conference met pursuant to adjournment. Minutes of previous meeting adopted.

Hon. Mr. Brown agreed to withdraw his resolutions of the previous day.

Hon. John A. Macdonald then read several resolutions which the Canadians had prepared to submit as to the Constitution of the Legislature, viz.,

That the Legislative Council consist of 72 members, 24 from Upper Canada, 24 from Lower Canada and 24 from Lower Provinces, to be chosen from the present Councils and appointed by the Crown under great seal of Executive Government and to be for life. Executive Government to be responsible. Local Governments to consist of two branches. The Lieutenant Governor to be appointed under great seal of General Government. Mr. Macdonald explained these resolutions in his address to the Conference, and then

Hon. Mr. Fisher moved that the General and Local Governments shall be formed on the model of the British Constitution as far as possible. A long discussion then ensued as to the propriety of passing such a resolution, which, after several amendments were proposed, resulted in the adoption of the amendment of Mr. Tilley that the word "Local" be struck out of Mr. Fisher's resolution which was then agreed to as amended.

¹ The delegates from Canada were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the Conference.

² There is no reference to this matter in this day's Minutes or Discussions as published by Pope.

³ Bernard's notes of the sittings from October 13 to October 18 inclusive, if prepared, are now missing. The present document, therefore, becomes of primary importance for these days.

Hon. John A. Macdonald moved that there be a general Government consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. 2nd. That the Council consist of 72 members, 24 for each of the Canada's and 24 for the Lower Provinces.

A lengthy discussion followed this point and Mr. Tilley moved that the Canada's have 24 each and the Lower Provinces 32 members or a House of 80 members, and in his remarks stated that these would be appointed, 12 to Nova Scotia, 10 to New Brunswick, 6 to Newfoundland and four to Prince Edward Island. Many of the delegates spoke on this subject and the hour of 4 O'Clock ensuing the Conference was adjourned until 11 A. M. tomorrow.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1864.

Conference met at 11 A. M. and resumed the consideration of the motion respecting Legislative Council.

- * The members from the Lower Provinces strongly urged their contention for a larger relative representation which the Canadians opposed. Many of the members of the Conference took part in the discussion of this question and many amendments were offered.
- + The Maritime delegates contended that population should not decide the numbers in the Federal Legislative Council. Each Province had its own Constitution under which the smaller Provinces had the same powers as the larger ones and could thus with reason claim the right to a fuller quota in the Council than proposed by the Canadians. The only safeguard the small Provinces would possess was in the Council. If numbers in the other House were based on population they should not also decide the representation which the weaker Provinces were to receive in the Upper Chamber, etc., etc. At 4 O'Clock Conference adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1864.

Conference resumed.

It was resolved that on and after Monday the 21st inst., Conference meet @ 10 A. M. and sit till 8 P. M. Meet again at 7.30 P. M. and sit as late as desirable.

The further consideration of representation in the Legislative Council was resumed and the general subject of Federation was discussed in connection with this resolution.

The delegates from Prince Edward Island were not satisfied with the number of representatives proposed for their Province.

- * Hon. Mr. Langerin¹ claimed that Quebec should have an equal number with Upper Canada but did not appear to urge a smaller number than Mr. Tilley proposed for the Lower Provinces.

(Note). I think that Hon. Mr. Brown contended for a larger number for Ontario than for Quebec.

Nearly all of the delegates expressed their views at some length but no other notes were taken by the writer of their speeches on this

¹ Sic. Read "Langevin."

day, as he was engaged in compiling statistics of P. E. I. in Dollars and Cents, and at 2.30 P. M. the Conference adjourned until 10 O'Clock A. M. on Monday.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1864.

Conference met at 10 A. M.

The resolution submitted by Mr. Brown on Tuesday last was taken up setting forth that the system of Government should be Federal with Local Governments in each Province and provision for admission of the North West Territories, Newfoundland, British Columbia and Vancouver, and further debate following the resolution was adopted and entered on the record.¹¹

The adjourned debate on the constitution of the Federal Legislative Council was then resumed.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald said:

That he considered each Province should have equal representation in the Federal Upper house and instanced the different States of the Union which however diversified in area were each represented by two Senators in the General Government. It was he thought understood at first that while the Lower house should have its number of members based on population, the Upper house should be more representative of the smaller Provinces as it was to be the guardian of their rights and privileges. Each Province now possesses a constitution of its own similar in the case of the smallest to that in the largest Province and equal rights and privileges were accorded to all alike. It was therefore a good reason why the smaller Provinces should claim better representation in the Legislative Council than the resolution provided. The Canadians make no allowance for our present condition. We are not specially desirous of changing it. What are the inducements for us to give up our Constitution! What is Canada conceding to the Lower Provinces! Canada proposes a certain number of Councillors to suit the ideas of its own people and will not admit of any deviation from that proposal. Each Province has now a fixed number of Provincial Legislative Coun-

¹¹ According to the Minutes this resolution (see note 6 above) had been passed on October 12. It was now reconsidered and amended so that the latter portion reads: "and Local Governments for each of the Canadas and for the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Union on equitable terms of Newfoundland, the North-West Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver."

The change in *status* of Newfoundland is interesting, but neither Bernard nor Macdonald throws light on it. The Newfoundland delegates had hitherto been participants in the discussion and voting, apparently on equal terms, but, according to the Minutes, at this sitting a resolution was carried: "That the Colony of Newfoundland, having sent a deputation to this Conference, be now invited to enter into the proposed Confederation, with a representation in the Legislative Council of four members."

This resolution was, we are told, communicated to the Newfoundland delegates, and the invitation accepted by them, the right being reserved to press their claims for a larger representation in the Legislative Council.

cillors and in a general Council half the number would be a fair representation for each Province. The two Canadas have 72 Legislative Councillors. The Maritime Provinces with Newfoundland have the same number. I suggest that we take the numbers in the present Councils as our basis and allow each Province half that number in the Federal Legislative Council. This proposal was not entertained and farther debate ensued. It was advocated by some delegates to allow the Crown to add to the number of Legislative Councillors at any future time as they might deem necessary, but this was objected to by the Prince Edward Islanders and some others as it would destroy the equilibrium established between the Provinces and would be difficult to work out satisfactorily.

The resolution that for the purpose of forming a Legislative Council the Federated Provinces shall be considered as consisting of three divisions, 1st Upper Canada, 2nd Lower Canada, and 3rd Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island as the third division with equal representation from each division, was then submitted to vote, and carried; Prince Edward Island delegates dissentient.

The resolution fixing the number of Legislative Councillors at 24 for each division was then submitted to vote. The Hon. Dr. Tupper proposed 24 for each of the Canadas, 10 for Nova Scotia, 9 for New Brunswick, and 5 each for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

This after debate was withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. Coles proposed 20 each for the two Canadas, 8 each for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and 4 each for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

This after debate was also withdrawn.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald proposed that half the present number in each Province constitute the number in the Federal Legislative Council.

This resolution was also withdrawn.

The question on the main motion was then put and Prince Edward Island having retired and consulted decided against it by a majority. The Chairman for P. E. I. announced that decision, and all other Provinces having voted for the resolution it was declared carried.¹

It being now 2 o'clock Conference adjourned until 7:30 p. m.

At 7:30 Conference again met and a resolution was moved "that the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the great seal of the General Government and hold office for life."

Hon. John A. McDonald, George Brown, Dr. Tupper and others spoke on this resolution but I have no notes of their addresses.

Hon. Mr. Coles moved, seconded by Hon. A. A. MacDonald "That at the first and all subsequent Elections of members to serve in the Upper House they shall be chosen by a majority of both branches

¹ Much of this matter is not found in the Minutes, and it is there stated that the resolution fixing the number of Legislative Councillors was carried unanimously.

of the Provincial Legislative from such qualified persons as are thirty years of age or upwards. One half of such Council to go out every four years after the first Election, to be decided by lot in first session."¹

Mr. Coles spoke in advocacy of his resolution.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald in seconding it considered that in this way only would the popular opinion of the Province be expressed whereas in appointments made by the Crown such would not be the case and the nominee of the Crown might be the most unpopular person in the Province.

At 12 midnight Conference adjourned till 10 a. m.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, Conference met at 10 o'clock a. m. and resumed the adjourned debate, etc.

"That the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the great seal of the General Government and hold office for life." The Prince Edward Island delegates withdrew and consulted as to their action. The question was asked: Shall appointment be open to all persons? and on a vote being taken, 5 voted nay, 1 voted yea. It was then asked: Shall appointments be made from present Councillors as far as qualified? Ans. No, by majority, only one voting yea.

On returning to the Conference Chamber the question was put on the main motion and it was carried unanimously by Provinces (although individual members in all Provinces did not agree).

The qualifications necessary for eligibility to serve as Legislative Councillors was then considered, and it was proposed to select them by lot from the present Legislative Councils except in Prince Edward Island, this proposition was defeated. It was then proposed to select the Legislative Councillors with due regard to local parties,—to be appointed by the General Executive Government on recommendation of the local Executive from present Legislative except as regards Prince Edward Island, this was also lost.

It was proposed that the first selection be made from duly qualified members of the Legislative Council in Canada but in the other provinces to be opened to all who possess the requisite qualifications whether now members of the Legislative Council or not, this was withdrawn.

It was then proposed to select the Legislative Council with due regard to local parties, appointments to be made by the Federal Executive on recommendation of the Local Executive from present Legislative Councils.²

At 11.30 the motion for adjournment was carried.

¹ This interesting motion is not entered in the Minutes as published.

² It would seem from the Minutes and Col. Bernard's notes that Mr. Macdonald has included in this day's business some matter that did not formally come before the Conference until the following day.

The Conference met at 10 a.m. WEDNESDAY OCT. 19,¹ and consideration of the adjourned debate resumed on resolution.

That the members of the Legislative Council for the General Government shall in the first instance be selected from the Legislative Councils of the various provinces with the exception of Prince Edward Island, so far as qualified, and debate ensuing the Prince Edward Island delegation retired to consult and on a vote of that province being taken a majority was against the resolution, which was adopted by the vote by provinces in the General Conference.

The resolution that the first Council in the Federal Legislative [*sic*] shall be appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Local Governments with due regard to claims of the opposition was then proposed and after long debate it was adopted.

Hon. Peter Mitchell being called away on his private business got leave of absence for the remainder of the Conference.

Conference adjourned at 2 p. m. until 7 p. m.

Conference resumed at 7:30 p. m.

Resolution that the basis of representation in the House of Commons shall be population and 194 members viz., Upper Canada, 82, Lower Canada 65, Nova Scotia 19, New Brunswick 15, Newfoundland 8, Prince Edward Island 5, was then put. Debate thereon continued until 10 o'clock when the motion for adjournment was carried for 10 o'clock tomorrow.²

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, Conference met at 10 a. m.

Several resolutions respecting sessions of Legislatures and the powers thereof were submitted. Also Resolution respecting mode of appointment of Lieutenant Governors and the duration of their holding office led to lengthy debate before they were finally adopted by the Conference.

(Note) Major Barnard the Executive Secretary of the Conference has given a fuller and better report of this days debates than could be made out from my notes, so I have taken his report for the 20th.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20TH.

Extracts from the minutes of Major Hewitt Barnard from Appendix VI Page 351—Vol. 1—Pope's Sir John MacDonald.³

¹ Bernard's notes for this day are quite extensive.

² According to Bernard, a long discussion arose on this and the following day from Prince Edward Island's objection to the small representation allotted to her in the House of Commons. Unfortunately Macdonald, although a delegate from the island, says nothing on the subject.

³ In this Appendix to the first volume of his *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald* Sir Joseph Pope published some extracts from Col. Bernard's notes, the whole of which were subsequently published in his *Confederation Documents*.

Mr. Brown:

As to local Governments, we desire in Upper Canada that they should not be expensive, and should not take up political matters. We ought not to have two electoral bodies. Only one body, members to be elected once in every three years. Should have whole legislative power—subject to Lieutenant Governor. I would have Lieutenant Governor appointed by General Government. It would thus bring these bodies into harmony with the General Government. In Upper Canada executive officers would be Attorney General, Treasurer, Secretary, Commissioner Crown Lands, and Commissioner Public Works. These would form the Council of the Lieutenant Governor. I would give Lieutenant Governor veto without advice, but under certain vote he should be obliged to assent.

During recess Lieutenant Governor could have power to suspend executive officers. They might be elected for three years or otherwise. You might safely allow County Councils to appoint other officers than those they now do. One Legislative Chamber for three years, no power of dissolution, elected on one day in each third year. Lieutenant Governor appointed by Federal Government. Departmental officers to be elected during pleasure, or for three years. To be allowed to speak but not to vote.

"Mr. Cartier:

I entirely differ with Mr. Brown. It introduces in our local bodies republican institutions. Mr. Brown moved: "That in the local Government there shall be but one Legislative Chamber."

"Sir E. Taché:

This motion is made merely to elicit opinion of Conference.

"Mr. Tilley:

New Brunswick differs from Mr. Brown. They propose to keep the existing things as they are, so far as consistent with expense. They propose Lieutenant Governor, five departmental officers, with seat in House.

"Mr. Dickey:

Before details, settle principles. Will Conference take present local Governments as models?

"Mr. Fisher: I am opposed to Mr. Brown's views. I approve of the present system of Local Legislatures. I agree with Mr. Brown that the Lieutenant Governor should be appointed by the Federal Government.

Mr. Carter:

In 1842 we had one chamber in Newfoundland partly appointed by Crown and partly by people. It worked well. An object to reduce expense.

Mr. Henry:

I think uniformity is very desirable, but you should first consider what is to be left to the Local Legislatures before you proceed to discuss their constitutions.

Mr. McGee:

No. Institute your body and then assign its powers.

Mr. Chandler:

We are here to form a constitution for Federal Government. Let the provinces otherwise remain as they are, so far as possible.

Dr. Tupper:

I agree with general principles laid down by Mr. Brown that the Governments should be as simple and inexpensive as possible. We should diminish the powers of the Local Governments, but we must not shock too largely the prejudices of the people in that respect.

Mr. McCully: We must have miniature responsible governments.

Adjourned at 2 o'clock until Friday, 21st, 10 a. m.¹

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1864, 10 A. M.

A. A. Macdonald's notes resumed.

Financial resolutions from No. 1 to No. 9 on the minutes were discussed by the leading members of the Conference which continued in session without adjournment until 5 o'clock P. M., when the Chamber being required for other purposes the Conference adjourned.

A number of resolutions besides those above mentioned were discussed and several changes made in the original drafts of some of them. There was a very general debate in which the leaders chiefly took part. Many questions and explanations were required by the other members, and all relating to finance were replied to by Hon. Mr. Galt who has all information on that point in his head and does not often require to refer to the printed statistics, but I have no other notes of the day's debate, as I was engaged in making up a number of statistical tables along with Hon. Mr. Pope. Conference adjourned until 10 A. M.²

Conference reassembled on 22nd October at noon and

Hon. Mr. Galt said: It is desirable that all the Provinces should enter the Federation with the same liabilities, and secondly that all should be admitted on just principles so that no claim can hereafter be advanced on account of claims now existing. He then read the resolutions respecting financial arrangements with the Provinces and stated the reasons at length of such an arrangement. He stated that \$80,000,000 was the present gross debt of all the Provinces, \$25 per head is the aggregate of the debt as nearly as possible. The debt of Canada on the 1st of January last was \$65,000,000 = Miscellaneous \$64,000, Common School debentures \$1,181,000, Indian fund \$1600,000, Capitalization payable to seigniorial tenures \$2,900,000, Municipal \$600,000, Jesuits, etc. in all \$4,000,000, Total \$75,578,000 is the debt of Canada. Credits on Sinking fund \$4,883,000, Common School fund \$1,200,000, Cash \$2,848,000, Net Liabilities \$68,445,953 on 1st January last. Three fourths of this debt has been incurred for public improvements tending to conduct

¹ This is not correct. There was an evening session on October 20.

² No reference to the discussion of financial matters on this day is made either in the Minutes or in Bernard's notes of the discussions. The subject of consideration was the powers of the General Legislature.

trade from the great West in this direction, 1st by Canals, 2ndly by Railways. We have expended \$24,908,000 for Canals, \$29,302,000 for Railways, about \$15,000,000 in the Grand Trunk line is deferred until it realizes a certain rate of interest. Great Western Railway \$2,500,000, a preference claim of \$1,000,000 comes in before us, but it is now paying interest on the Railway debt, Northern Railway \$2,300,000, Municipal Loan funds about \$9,000,000.

The liabilities of Nova Scotia about	\$5,000,000
" " " " New Brunswick	5,700,000
" " " " Newfoundland	1,000,000
" " " " Prince Ed. Island	250,000
" " " " Canada	68,445,950

Making a total indebtedness of \$80,395,950 \$25 per head will represent \$62,500,000 for Canada while the debt is \$69,000,000. In New Brunswick it will about represent the same proportion; in Nova Scotia also. In Newfoundland the debt is about \$8 per head, they will be charged with interest on that and will receive credit for \$25 per head. The debt of Prince Edward Island is \$3 per head, consequently it will benefit by \$22 per head as a subsidy. It is plain the Local Governments cannot exist without a subvention from the General Government, or resorting to direct taxation, a subvention is the best means. The General Government must desire to make the charges for local Governments as light as possible while the Local Governments would have an opposite interest. I trust whatever the amount of the subvention may be that it will not be changed hereafter. It should be definitely settled now and not doubled when the population of any Province doubles.

Hon. Mr. Tilley stated the objections he held against Mr. Galt's scheme. The Federal Government would take all the public property and proposed nothing in return for this. Our Railway now pays one and a half per cent on the cost of the road or \$60,000 over working expenses, wear and tear. Mr. Galt proposes to take this from us and allow us nothing in return. A large part of Canada's debt arises from interest on its railway debts. I should like to know what the value of your Railway debt would be after paying preference bonds? The Great Western Railway is the only one I look upon as a valuable asset, as it pays the Interest or part of it on its indebtedness. Suppose we construct the line between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a part of the Intercolonial, will the receipts from it go into the general Revenue and are we to have no benefit from them?

Hon. Mr. Galt: I admit that the question of what future liabilities you incur is one of great importance that we should consider. The whole of the public works are given to the Confederation, etc., etc., etc.

Hon. Messrs. Tilley & Brown, Tilley & Galt discussed this question at length.

Hon. Dr. Tupper said that \$20,000,000 of Canada's debt in the Grand Trunk line is not represented by any assets paid into the public

Treasury, while Nova Scotia's Railways could be sold tomorrow for fifty per cent of cost, etc., etc., etc. Dr. Tupper continued his criticism of the financial aspects of the Lower Provinces and the position they would find themselves in if such proposals were adopted. He spoke at considerable length but the writer had no opportunity to note his remarks, as the other Island delegates had requested him to get up certain statistics respecting their Province, and to convert the Island Currency as given in the official returns, which gave only the Island Currency, into Dollars and Cents, Canadian Currency.¹

The debate on the foregoing questions was continued by Messrs. Galt, Tilley, Archibald, Tupper, McCully, Coles, Chandler, Steeves, Dickey, Henry and nearly all the members of the Conference took part in it. The debate continued until 10 o'clock when the Conference adjourned until Monday, the 24th at 10 A. M., when being met a lengthy discussion followed chiefly on the financial resolutions, for report of some of the speeches I again refer to Major Barnard's report as given in Appendix vi page 352, Pope's Sir John Macdonald, a copy hereto annexed.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24th.

Extract from minutes of Major Hewitt Bernard from Appendix vi page 351, Vol 1—Pope's Sir John Macdonald.

Mr. Mowatt moved (a resolution defining the powers of the Local Legislature²).

Mr. Chandler: I object to the proposed system. You are adopting a Legislative Union instead of a Federal. The Local Legislatures should not have their powers specified, but should have all the powers not reserved to the Federal Government, and only the powers to be given to the Federal Government should be specified. You are now proceeding to destroy the Constitutions of the Local Governments, and to give them less powers than they have allowed³ them from England, and it will make them merely large Municipal Corporations. This is a vital question, which decides the question between a Federal and Legislative Union, and it will be fatal to the success of Confederation in the Lower Provinces.

Dr. Tupper: I have heard Mr. Chandler's argument with surprise. Powers undefined must rest somewhere. Those who were at Charlottetown will remember that it was fully specified there that all the powers not given to Local should be reserved to the Federal Government. This was stated as being a prominent feature of the Canadian scheme, and it was said then that it was desirable to have a plan contrary to that adopted by the United States. It was a fundamental principle laid down by Canada and the basis of our deliberations. Mr. Chandler says that it gives a Legislative instead

¹ We have here, however, a much better report of this important discussion than that published from Bernard's notes.

² Read "Legislatures."

³ Read "have had allowed."

of a Federal Union. I think that a benefit. Is the Federal Government to be one of mere delegates? We have provided for a legislative representation and for the representation of every section of all the Provinces. Such a costly Government ought to be charged with the fullest powers. It will be easier for every one of the remotest settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to reach the Federal Legislature than the present Local Legislatures. If it were not for the peculiar condition of Lower Canada and that the Lower Provinces have not municipal systems such as Upper Canada, I should go in for a Legislative Union instead of a Federal. We propose to preserve the Local Governments in the Lower Provinces because we have not Municipal Institutions. If Conference limit the powers of the General Legislature, I feel that the whole platform is swept away from us.

- Mr. Coles: I did not understand this was laid down as a basis at Charlottetown. I thought there the only thing specified was representation by population in Lower House. I agree with Mr. Chandler's views.
- Mr. Haviland: I disagree with Messrs. Chandler and Coles. I understood the basis of our scheme, so as to avoid difficulties of United States, is to give limited powers to local Legislatures.
- Colonel Gray, N. B.: Mr. Cole's memory is hurt¹ (Quotes from Mr. McDonald's speech at Charlottetown and from Mr. Brown's that Federal Government was to have general powers and limited as to local). Whatever conclusion we may now arrive at, such was the basis of the Canadian scheme.
- Mr. Chandler: My argument is not met as to merits, but as to what was laid down at Charlottetown. We all agree that local Government should have local powers, we differ as to whether such powers should be defined.
- Dr. Tupper: Under Mr. Chandler's view the Governor General would be less than the Lieutenant Governor, and the Federal Government less than the local.
- Mr. Dickey: I propose a Supreme Court of Appeal to decide any conflict between general and state rights. I am rather inclined to agree with Mr. Chandler. Immense interests omitted in Mr. Mowat's motion.
- Mr. Brown: This matter received close attention of Canadian Government. I should agree with Mr. Chandler were it not that we have done all we can to settle the matter with sufficient powers to local Legislatures.

I would let the Courts of each Province decide what is local, and what general Government jurisdiction, with appeal to the Appeal or Superior Court.

- Mr. McCully: I refer to New Zealand Act, which is evidently framed to meet difficulty. It strongly² defines what the local Governments shall not do. In 53rd clause General Assembly to make laws, etc., for government of New Zealand, and shall control and supersede

¹ Read "short."

² Read "strangely".

those of local Governments repugnant thereto. Mr. Brown will land us in position of United States by referring matter of conflict of jurisdiction to Courts. You thus set them over the General Legislature.

Mr. Attorney General MacDonald:

New Zealand constitution was a legislative Union, ours federal. Emigrants went out under different guarantees. Local charters jarred. In order to guard these they gave the powers stated to local Legislatures, but the General Government had power to sweep these away.

That is just what we do not want. Lower Canada and the Lower Provinces would not have such a thing. There is no analogy between New Zealand and ourselves in such respects. Our Courts now can decide where there is any conflict between the Imperial and Canadian Statutes. I think the whole affair would fail, and the system be a failure, if we adopted Mr. Chandler's views. It would be adopting the worst features of the United States. We should concentrate the power in the Federal Government, and not adopt the decentralization of the United States. Mr. Chandler would give sovereign power to the local Legislatures, just where the United States failed. Canada would be infinitely stronger as she is than under such a system as proposed by Mr. Chandler. It is said the tariff is one of the causes of difficulty in the United States. So it would be with us. Looking at agricultural interests of Upper Canada, manufacturing of Lower Canada, and maritime interests of lower Provinces, in respect to a Tariff, a federal Government would be a mediator. No general feeling of patriotism exists in the United States. In occasions of difficulty each man sticks to his individual State. Mr. Stephens, the present Vice President, a strong Union man, yet, when time came, he went with his State. Similarly we should each stick to our Province and not be British Americans. It would be introducing a source of radical weakness. It would ruin us in the eyes of the civilized world. All writers point out errors of United States. All the failings prognosticated by De Tocqueville are shown to be fulfilled.

Mr. Johnson: Enumerate for local Governments their powers, and give all the rest to general Government but do not enumerate both.

Mr. Palmer: Easier to define what are general, than what are local subjects, but we cannot define both. We cannot meet every possible case or emergency.

Mr. Henry: We should not define powers of general Legislature. I would ask Lower Canada not to fight for a shadow. Give a clause to give general powers (except such as given to local Legislatures) to federal Legislature. Anything beyond that is hampering the case with difficulties. If we are to have Confederation let us have one on the principles suggested by Attorney General MacDonald. In United States there is no power to settle constitutionality of an Act. Hereafter we shall be bound by an Imperial Act, and our judges will have to say what is constitutional under it as regards general or local Legislation.

Mr. Dickey: Why did Imperial statutes give the powers they did to New Zealand General Government?

Mr. Chandler: My plan is not precisely the same as United States, because Government does not in United States appoint the Lieutenant Governors and the Legislative Councillors. If my plan is not adopted, I should have elective Legislative Councillors.

Colonel Gray, N. B.: The power flows from Imperial Government. We propose to substitute the Federal Government for the Imperial Government but the Federal Government is itself subordinate to the Imperial Government. And as to the policy of the thing, I think it best to define the powers of the local Governments, as the public will then see what matters they have reserved for their consideration, with which matters they will be familiar, and so the humbler classes and the less educated will comprehend that their interests are protected.

end of Major Bernard's notes

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1864.

The financial arrangements still formed the chief subject of discussion. Several sets of resolutions on other subjects were submitted and agreed to chiefly those referring to the jurisdiction of the local and general legislatures, the judiciary, etc.

On consideration of the subject of Education it was moved by Hon. Darcy [*sic*] McGee and seconded by Hon. A. A. McDonald.

"That it be resolved that all rights and privileges which any denomination now possesses in respect to denominational schools or in educational matters shall be preserved to them by the constitution and shall not be abridged by Legislation."

(*Note*) This may not be the literal wording of the resolution, but such is its import. My note on it being an imperfect draft.¹

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Conference adjourned until 10 a. m. on Wednesday.²

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 26, 1864. Conference met at 10 a. m.

Hon. Mr. Pope submitted a statement of the position in which Prince Edward Island would stand in the financial arrangement proposed if it entered Confederation on those terms, and nearly every member of the Island delegation spoke on this question showing that it was impossible for the Government to be carried on there with such limited income.

Hon. Mr. Coles moved seconded by Hon. A. A. MacDonald, Whereas the question of Land tenures in Prince Edward Island is the cause of great discontent and the source of much agitation, and in order to

¹ According to the Minutes, the amendment consisted in adding to the clause which assigned education to the control of the local legislatures the words:

"Saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the Constitutional Act goes into operation."

² Bernard's notes end with this day's discussion.

settle the same it is necessary that the lands held by Absentee proprietors should be purchased at a reasonable rate by Government and resold to the tenants and whereas Prince Edward Island has no Crown lands, mines or minerals from which money can be realized to purchase the said proprietary lands and it is requisite for the prosperity of the Island that the said land question should be settled. Resolved therefore that a sum equal to the interest of the amount necessary to purchase the said lands be paid annually to Prince Edward Island in consideration of this question.

Hon. Mr. Coles spoke in support of his resolution as to the present state of the land question and what the local Government had done in its efforts to have the land tenures settled. He referred to the general benefits such a measure would have and its effect upon the views of the people on the subject of Confederation.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald said that the only advantage he could see that would accrue to the people of his Province under the proposed Confederation would be to have the lands purchased by the Government. This the local Government might accomplish through time without entering into Confederation but it must take many years to do it. Even if the lands were to be purchased by the general Government and handed over to the local Government to be disposed of to the tenants the funds arising from the sale would not constitute a permanent source of revenue. They would be all disposed of in a few years and the money would be expended for local improvements owing to the necessities of the Province while we would be taxed as much per head as we now pay and have besides to pay our proportion of the Federal taxation the same as all the other Provinces. Our local and Federal taxation would be more than we could bear. We would have to pay our portion of the railway debt without a railroad throughout our Province. It is a matter of indifference to our people whether the Intercolonial Railroad is built at all or not. Being an insular Province and entirely cut off from the mainland by the Ice for nearly half the year we need fear no foreign invasion and being but a small Province offer no inducements to a foreign invader to make war on us while so many richer Provinces offer more prizes and lie between us and any possible foe. We are loyal subjects of our gracious Queen and she would not see us cut off from protection while we put forth our own efforts to protect our shores. It would require more liberal financial terms than any yet proposed to induce our people to support a Federal Union if they were to form a portion of it. (He referred to the increased Tariff as compared with present local).

Hon. Mr. Galt said that the duties of Canada will be materially lessened under any circumstances and will be readjusted with reference to the position of all the Provinces and their duties after Confederation.

Conference adjourned at midnight after a number of resolutions had been passed.

THURSDAY, OCT. 27, 1864. Conference met at 10 a. m.

A number of resolutions which had been under consideration at previous sessions were adopted this morning and the whole read

over. Most of the delegates left early. I was the only Islander at the Conference during these formal proceedings. It was decided to have the resolutions of the Conference printed and submitted to the delegates at Montreal to be authenticated by their signatures and the Conference then adjourned to meet at Montreal tomorrow.

A brief session was held at the St. Louis Hotel¹ on October 29th but the printed report of the Conference resolutions was not ready and an adjournment was agreed upon till arrival at Ottawa.²

¹ The Minutes read "St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal."

² There is no reference in the Minutes to this adjournment to Ottawa.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A BRITISH SECRET SERVICE REPORT ON CANADA, 1711¹

Among the officers who served in the expedition of 1710 against Port Royal in Acadia was a Major John Livingstone, of the family of Livingstons of New York. When Port Royal surrendered, General Nicholson and the English council of war determined to send Livingstone with despatches to Vaudreuil, the French governor, at Quebec. He was to be accompanied by the younger St. Castine, who was sent by Subercase, the French commander, to inform Vaudreuil of the loss of Acadia. Livingstone and St. Castine set out from Annapolis Basin on October 19 (O.S.) and, after a trying journey by way of the Penobscot River, arrived at Quebec on December 6, 1710. Major Livingstone has left an interesting journal of his visit to Canada, from the brief entries in which we can conclude that he was shown every courtesy and entertained royally by the authorities and people at Quebec. On January 10, Livingstone and two French envoys, Rouville and Dupuys, left Quebec on the return journey, proceeding this time up the north shore of the St. Lawrence as far as Lac St. Pierre, where they crossed to the south side and continued as far as Longueuil. From Longueuil they crossed to Chambly on the Richelieu River, and thence made their way by the Lake Champlain route and Albany to Boston, where they arrived February 23.

On March 20 Colonel Vetch, governor of the newly named Annapolis Royal, wrote from Boston that Major Livingstone was sailing for England, to lay a full account of his negotiations in Canada before the Queen and the ministry. Preparations had long been under way for the expedition against Quebec which Sir Hovenden Walker led with such ill success the following summer, and it was, doubtless, in connection therewith that the following report on the defences of Canada was prepared. In fact, we may believe that it was chiefly to obtain just this information that Livingstone was sent on his mission in the first instance.

Livingstone's was one of many attempts on the part of the

¹ London : Public Record Office, C.O. 42, vol. 13. Transcript in Public Archives of Canada.

English, from time to time, to obtain information regarding the fortifications of Quebec and the condition of Canada. The most famous account was that prepared by Patrick Mackellar in 1757 and used by Wolfe (*Knox's Journal*, Champlain Society ed., vol. III, pp. 151-160). It may be compared with Livingstone's. The most illuminating parallel, however, to the present document—so far as it relates to the defences of Quebec—is the report of the French engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, in 1716 (*Documents relating to the History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, pp. 872-874). Unfortunately the map which accompanied this report is not available, but we have another by the same hand of about the same date (*Report on Canadian Archives* for 1905, vol. I). For the rest of the colony, Livingstone's account should be compared with the contemporary one of Gédéon de Catalogne (*Documents relating to the Seigniorial Tenure*, ed. by W. B. Munro for the Champlain Society, pp. 94-151), and with the legends on the Murray Map of Canada (*Catalogue of Maps in the Dominion Archives*, App. C).

JAMES F. KENNEY

[Transcript.]

1710

A View of Canada taken by Major John Livingstone
with Accot. of Fortifications and number of men

Decem ^r 27 th French 250 150	QUEBECK	G. Guns	Pateraro's ¹
	There is in Quebec Town ² Two hundred and fifty men of ye Melitia, and One hundred and fifty soldiers in ye kings pay, two batteries in ye Lower Town, the Westernmost ³ has a street to ye Northward of it.	11	..
	About Sixty yards off N E at ye River side. .	.1	..
	About 100 yards farther N at ye River side is ye other Battery ⁴ , six twenty four pounders, wh ^h are ye biggest in ye Town.6	..
	Upon ye Hill to ye Northward of ye Bishops house Lies a mortar alone.		

¹ Pateraroes, or pedreros, small cannon used for firing stones and broken iron.

² A plan of Quebec, prepared in 1720 or earlier by the engineer Chaussegros de Léry, is published in th *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1905, vol. I.

³ The *Batterie Royale*.

⁴ The *Batterie Dauphine*.

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater- aro's
		About 200 yards N N W turning y ^e Point to y ^e Little River ¹ in y ^e Priests Garden ² a brass mortar and five Guns.....	5	..
		As you goe Round to y ^e hospitall ³ along the River.....	.3	..
		On the Right hand of y ^e way going Down to y ^e Intendants ⁴ five Guns, next y ^e Little River.....	.5	..
		A Little Farther along s ^d River Just by y ^e Intendants.....	.2	..
		And as you turn up, at y ^e Intendants, there is a Gate and a little above y ^t Gate is three Guns west, & a small Clockhouse upon y ^e works ⁵3	..
		And fifty yards farther S E as you goe up the Hill, is a Levell peice of Ground, & another Gate, ⁶ & a Little further up the Hill, is a Small watchhouse on y ^e works, and in it is.....	.3	..
		And from thence 'till you come to y ^e Stone-wall there is 2 or 3 halfe moons, one w th in another & 2 Guns Course S E.....	.2	..
		And on y ^e Top of y ^e Hill, in y ^e Stone wall is six Guns & a Gate ⁷ in s ^d wall.....	.6	..
		About 50 y ^d s within in s ^d wall N is a Square place made of bricks, & a house in y ^e midle of it, w ^h I call a Magazine & in it 5 Guns / ..	.5	..
		On y ^e Other side.....		..
		And N W. From this square there is a wind mill & a small Battery ⁸ of 5 Guns, and a little further N N W Two Guns.....	.7	..
		And along y ^e River at y ^e Stone wall upon		

¹ The River St. Charles.

² The grounds of the Seminary. Apparently on the site of the great battery (afterwards known as *Le Clergé en Barbette*, and still later as the Grand Battery).

³ The *Hôtel Dieu*.

⁴ The Intendant's Palace.

⁵ Probably the defences of *Coteau de la Potasse*. Livingstone's knowledge of the fortifications on the landward side of Quebec seems to have been but slight, and it is difficult to follow his topography.

⁶ Palace Gate.

⁷ St. Louis Gate.

⁸ Probably what was known as the *Cavalier du Moulin*, but Livingstone's description is obscure.

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater- aro's
		the hill, there is a Clock house ¹ I saw no Guns in it & further N E. upon y ^e Hill at y ^e top of it there is work hove up, ² and Stock-adoes, till you come to y ^e Fort, ³ where is 17 Guns planted, against y ^e River, & 11 Pateroroes, in this place y ^e Govern ^r Lives ⁴ . . .	17	11
		As you goe into y ^e Fort there is 11 Guns planted, and Over y ^e Little River at Bone Porto ⁵ is 2 Guns	13	..
		By Information		
400		Upon y ^e Island of Orleans there is 300 Families and can raise about four hundred men . . . At Shaterosha ⁶ five Guns near Cape Diamond ⁷5	..
400		At Shaterosha, Sharleboo ⁸ at ⁹ Bomp ^{re} ¹⁰ , about Four hundred men all Melitia. This Island of Orleans lyes about a League below Quebec, and Shaterosha seven Leagues on y ^e N W. Shoar; Sharleboo at ⁹ Bomp ^{re} , on s ^d Shoar near to Quebec all inhabited. Down y ^e River of Quebec fifteen Leagues at River dela, & Dormont, ¹¹ w ^h is on y ^e S E side of s ^d River about 50 families.		
50		At Lorett ¹² which makes y ^e Little River of Quebec about Four Leagues From s ^d Town, is an Indian Town, about fifty men.		
50		Of y ^e nation of Orquanshaws, which Inhabitt all along y ^e Great River of Quebec about 70 men		
70		On y ^e S E side of y ^e River Over against Quebec, of y ^e Stragling inhabitants, from the River De Lesolier to y ^e River Deleiu, ¹³ which is 18 Leagues there is about 70 men		
70		From Quebec to a Village which is Called		

¹ Apparently what was known as the *Demi-Bastion de Joubert*.

² The Cape Diamond Redoubt.

³ Fort St. Louis.

⁴ The *Château St. Louis*, part of the fort.

⁵ Beauport.

⁶ Château Richer.

⁷ An error. But there seems to be some defect in the text in this part.

⁸ Charlesbourg.

⁹ Read "and".

¹⁰ Beaupré.

¹¹ Not identified.

¹² Jeune Lorette.

¹³ Not identified. Should we read "River Chaudière to River Du Chêne"?

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater- aro's
		Ponta Tromble ¹ is 7 Leagues y ^e Inhabitants settled along y ^e River, including y ^e Village about 160 men by Observation/ ²		
40		From Ponta Tromble to Port Nuff ³ is seven Leagues, along y ^e River is a small fort y ^e inhabitants about forty men as you goe along.		
70		About 3 Leagues farther a Village Called Gronden ⁴ about 70 men		
40		Two Leagues farther a Seigniory called St Ann where is about forty men.		
90		And two Leagues farther a Village called Champlin, ⁵ about 90 men		
100		Two Leagues farther a village called Bots- cank ⁶ about One hundred men		
70		And From thence to Troy River ⁷ wh is Four Leagues along s ^d River about 70 men		
		At Troy River which is thirty Leagues above Quebec, a place Stockadoed in, about 200 yards long, and near y ^e same breadth, in wh is severall housen, and is y ^e Govern ^r s Residence is seven Guns 80 soldiers, and about y ^e same number of Inhabitants.	7	..
	260	From Troy River to a place Called st Fran- coise ⁸ wh place lyes on y ^e south East part of L. st Peer, ⁹ about Forty inhabitants up s ^d River. And about Two Leagues farther up, an Indian fort called st franswa ¹⁰ 260 men.		
70		From st franswa to Sorrell is about four Leagues to y ^e fort in y ^e mouth of Shamblee River, ¹¹ where is forty soldiers, and about thirty Inhabitants		

¹ Pointe aux Trembles.² On his return journey up the St. Lawrence River.³ Portneuf.⁴ Grondines.⁵ Champlain.⁶ Batiscan. Livingstone has reversed the respective positions of Batiscan and Champlain. The same mistake occurs in the journal. Evidently both documents were written from memory or imperfect notes.⁷ Trois Rivières—Three Rivers.⁸ The seigniory of St. François.⁹ Lac St. Pierre.¹⁰ The Abenaki Indian village of St. François.¹¹ Richelieu River.

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater- aro's
		Up ye River Shamblee, about 18 Leagues to ye fort, is no inhabitants.		
		From Sorell by way of st Toer, ¹ Counter-cure ² Verseer, ³ & severall other Seigniories, we have small forts, two Leagues ye one from ye other along the East side of Quebeck River up to Longolia ⁴ is 18 Leagues, For ye most part inhabited along ye River side, about 300 Inhabitants.		
300		From thence Cross ye woods 5 Leagues Course S E & by E upon ye River Shamblee is a stone Fort ⁵ / about 16 foot high, and as I Guess about 80 yds one way and fifty ye other, Each Corner a Bastion, about Twenty Foot Out, six great Guns, 100 soldiers, and about 20 inhabitants, stands at ye foot of the riplings on ye N W Side of ye River.	.6	..
120		From Longolia to Laparee, de Muda Ane ⁶ we lies up Quebeck river is 4 Leagues there is a fort at sd villiage with four guns but out of Repair, and by information 100 inhabitants and 20 soldiers.	.4	..
120		From thence along sd River 2 Leagues an Indian fort called Nonoh-nowagoo, ⁷ 250 men There is some small force more up sd River which I could not gain Pticular Information of.		
250				
	<i>*sic</i>	From Troy River along ye N W Side of ther* Great River to River De Lu ⁸ and so to ye End of ye Island of Mount Royall, we is 23 Leagues stragling inhabitants about 200		
200		From ye N E part of Mount Royall Island to ye Town of Mount Royall, (including the villiage of Ponta Tromble, ⁹ where there is a small Fort of stockadoes) being 7 Leagues, all ye inhabitants, including some of ye Islands of ye Great River are about 400 men.		
400				

¹ St. Ours.² Contrecoeur.³ Verchères.⁴ Longueuil.⁵ Fort Chambly.⁶ La Prairie de la Magdelaine.⁷ Caughnawaga.⁸ Rivière du Loup.⁹ Pointe aux Trembles.

				G. Guns.	Peter-aro's
French	Indians	<p>At the Town of Mount Royall we is all Stockadoed round with Cedar Stockadoes, about 16 Foot high, and Bastions y^e Length of 1400 y^{ds} and 34 y^{ds} wide, 26 Guns, 11 Patereroes, 280 Officers & soldiers 300 Inhabitants.....</p> <p>From thence to y^e S W part of y^e Island wh is ten Leagues inhabited scattering abt 150 men</p> <p>About 3 Leagues N W. from Mount Royall an Indian fort called Canowsadago, or L'Mountia¹ where is 200 Indians</p> <p>A Stone forte at Codroque² we is 80 Leagues From Mt Royall up y^e River called Fontenac³ at y^e mouth of y^e Lake called Codroque⁴ where is 40 soldiers, as I guess about 8 Guns, no Inhabitants</p>			
580				26	11
150					
	200				
4070	830			145	22

¹ Canasadaga, or Kanesatake, an Iroquois word signifying "on the mountain side." The Christian Iroquois of this village, now settled at Oka on the Lake of Two Mountains, were, before 1720, at Sault au Récollet.

² Cataraqui.

³ Frontenac: the upper St. Lawrence.

⁴ Lake Ontario.

AN UNPUBLISHED STATE PAPER, 1868

At the close of the Civil War the relations of the United States with Great Britain and with Canada were not cordial. The two questions affecting Canada which served to keep matters on a doubtful basis were the Atlantic fisheries and the tariff. Canada desired to renew the Elgin Treaty of 1854 which had settled both these issues for ten years, but which had been abrogated by the United States. On more than one occasion delegates from Canada had gone to Washington with offers either to renew the treaty or to propose such modifications as changed commercial conditions appeared to render necessary. These negotiations had proved fruitless. At one stage when the settlement took the form of

proposed concurrent legislation at Ottawa and Washington, George Brown, the Liberal leader, resigned from the Coalition Ministry, giving this as the reason for resigning. The union of the British North American Provinces went into effect July 1st, 1867, and the relations of the new Dominion with the republic remained unsettled.

It was considered advisable to make a fresh attempt to open negotiations. The Canadian Government in 1869 sent the Minister of Finance, John Rose, to Washington, acting, it is believed, on a hint from the British Minister, Sir Edward Thornton, that the time was propitious. Rose was a lawyer of marked abilities, especially in the practice of commercial and financial law, and he possessed the qualities of diplomacy and tact which fitted him for a mission of this kind. But he, too, was unsuccessful, and the question of reciprocity, which was at that period bound up with the disputed fishing rights on the Atlantic coast, remained in abeyance for some time. Rose went to live in England, as a member of the banking firm of Morton, Rose & Company, and became one of the financial advisers of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII). He was, therefore, no longer a member of the Canadian House of Commons when the mission he had undertaken in 1869 became a subject of lively discussion in Parliament in March, 1870. It was charged by L. S. Huntington, who moved an address in favour of obtaining from the imperial authorities all necessary powers to enable Canada to enter into direct communication with foreign states for the purpose of creating a customs union, that the Rose mission provided for free trade in manufactures between Canada and the United States. He stated that he had seen the memorandum drawn up by Mr. Rose and Mr. Fish, acting for the United States, and that this was one of its provisions. This was denied by Sir Francis Hincks, who succeeded Rose as Finance Minister, and also by Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister.

The importance of this episode in international relations has always been recognized and a certain air of mystery has gathered around the controversy because no state papers on the subject were published. President Grant, in reply to a request from Congress, declared that there were no papers. The Canadian Prime Minister stated, during the debate on the Huntington motion, that the communications between Thornton, Rose, and Fish were unofficial and confidential and could not be made public.

The first official paper on the circumstances connected with

the Rose mission to see the light is the despatch which is presented herewith. It bears date September 3, 1868, and was thus written prior to Rose's departure for Washington. The original is in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. The subject dealt with, as will be seen, is the question of whether and to what extent, trade arrangements between Canada and the United States might involve discriminatory duties against the products of the Empire.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

[*Transcript.*]

CONFIDENTIAL.

The Minister of Finance to whom has been referred the despatch of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, under date the 24th July, 1868, transmitting a copy of a letter from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, on the subject of the admission of certain articles (under the provision of the recent Customs Act of the Dominion of Canada) duty free, from the British American Provinces, not included in the Dominion; and on the power reserved by the same Act to admit the like articles, when the growth and product of the United States, either duty free or on reciprocal terms, so soon as the United States shall provide for the importation thereof on corresponding terms into that country,—has the honor to report:

The first of these objects has been already fully discussed by the undersigned in a report which he had the honor of laying before, and which was approved of by His Excellency in Council, on the 25th Jany last.

It is believed that the special circumstances which are set forth in that report, and the important political considerations which are involved, fully outweigh any objections which may be taken to the theoretical sanction given to the imposition of discriminating duties on the articles in question.

My Lords while reiterating the views expressed by them on former occasions on economical grounds, admit that the provisions in question are consistent with the policy heretofore pursued by the North American Provinces, and as His Grace the Colonial Secretary, intimates that he is not prepared to object to that policy, this portion of the despatch would not seem to call for further observation.

The second point as stated by His Grace, viz.:

"the exclusive favor which substantially, or at all events, apparently might be conferred on the United States, if the clause providing for the admission of certain products of that country, in the event of certain contingencies, should come into operation; and which His Grace is pleased to say: he fears could not be acceded to," raises a question of such deep import to the people

of this Dominion, that the undersigned deems it in his duty to advert to the course which has hitherto been pursued by Her Majesty's Government with reference to it, in the conviction that further consideration will lead His Grace to withdraw the objections, which by anticipation have been advanced.

The peculiar position in which Canada and the United States stand to each other makes it for their mutual interest to exchange certain articles on reciprocal terms.

The truth of this proposition has never been denied by Her Majesty's Government, but on the contrary their influence has been invariably exercised in furtherance of such reciprocal arrangements.

As early as 1848, Mr. Crampton, Her Majesty's representative at Washington was instructed by Lord Palmerston to urge on the American Government the establishment of reciprocal Free Trade in natural products between Canada and the United States; and on the appointment of Sir Henry Bulwer, his successor in 1849, the Imperial Government specially directed him to continue those negotiations, to the successful termination of which, in the despatch of Lord Palmerston, it was stated Her Majesty's Government attached the very highest importance.

The consideration of the subject continued to be repeatedly pressed on the American Government between that time and the year 1854.

In the latter year the Treaty known as the Reciprocity Treaty, was finally concluded, admitting certain natural products of each country free into the other, without any qualification as to the differential or discriminating character of its provisions.

On the anticipated abrogation of that Treaty by the United States in 1865, Her Majesty's Government again lent the weight of their influence in favor of its continuance, and Her Majesty's representative at Washington was persistent in his efforts, as well to prevent its termination, as subsequently to effect its renewal.

Indeed, since the period of its abrogation by the action of the United States Congress, the propriety of its renewal has been an object of avowed solicitude on the part of the Imperial Government.

In 1865, the Delegates from Canada who visited England for the purpose of conferring with Her Majesty's Government on various important matters affecting the interests of the Dominion, were again assured that Sir Frederick Bruce, Her Majesty's representative at Washington, had received instructions to negotiate for a renewal of the Treaty, and to act in concert with the Government of Canada to that end.

It thus appears that the principle of establishing special trade relations on reciprocal terms between Canada and the United States has been uniformly recognized and approved of by Her Majesty's Government since the year 1848.

The question has, however, been raised by the Government of the United States, whether the arrangements ought properly to be effected by means of a Treaty, or in the form of reciprocal Legislation.

Objections were taken to the former course during the first negotiations in 1848, and in order to remove them, it was proposed that concurrent legislation should be had by Canada and the United States of America, under which the products of each country should be admitted

free into the other. The two Bills proposed at that time, the one by Canada and the other by the United States are almost identical in their terms with the clause to which My Lords now take exception.

It is worthy of note that the object and scope of the legislation then proposed by Canada, were specially brought under the notice of Her Majesty's Government, at the time and in a Despatch from Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governor General of Canada, His Lordship states—"that Her Majesty's Government can have no objection to the repeal by the Provincial Legislature of the Duties enumerated in the Bill."

On that occasion the Lords of the Privy Council of Trade were pleased to observe, in reference to the reciprocal legislation proposed by Canada, to meet the provisions of a similar Bill then before Congress, that "My Lords considering the various interests in Canada which may be affected by the measure, and that the questions involved in it bear more upon the welfare of Canada than of Great Britain, recommend it to be left entirely to the decision of the provincial Legislature." That Bill having been passed by the Legislature, was specially transmitted for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure by the Governor General, and after full deliberation by the Imperial Government, and a consideration of its provisions by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, it was formally assented to by Her Majesty.

If any further approval of the character of the legislation were needed, it will be found in a Despatch of Lord Palmerston to Sir H. Bulwer, under date the 1st November, 1849, in which His Lordship states,—“that Her Majesty's Government regard it as of the very highest importance, both commercially and politically, that free admission to the market of the United States should be obtained for those articles which are enumerated in an Act passed in the last Session of the Canadian Parliament, of which I enclose a copy for your information.”

This is the same Act as that already referred to.

The exercise of the power conferred by that Bill was however prevented by the failure of Congress to pass its measure, and before reciprocal Legislation could be had, the Treaty of 1854 was entered into.

That Treaty afterwards received the formal sanction of the Imperial Parliament (17th & 18th Vic. c. 3).

On the expiry of the Treaty in 1865, negotiations took place for its renewal, and the question which had been originally raised by Mr. Clayton, the American Secretary of State, in 1848, as to whether Trade relations might properly and constitutionally be regulated by Treaty, was again raised by the American Government.

Mr. McCulloch, the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury in his annual Report for 1865, thus adverts to the objections:

“There are grave doubts whether Treaties of this character do not interfere with the legislative power of Congress, and especially with the constitutional power of the House of Representatives to originate Revenue Bills.”

“It is certain that in the arrangement of our complex system of revenue through the tariff and internal duties, the Treaty has been the

source of no little embarrassment. The subject of the Revenue should not be embarrassed by treaty stipulations, but Congress should be left to act freely and independently. Any arrangement between the United States and the Canadas and Provinces, that may be considered mutually beneficial, can as readily be carried out by reciprocal legislation as by any other means. No complaint would then arise as to subsequent changes of laws, for each party would be free to act at all times, according to its discretion.

"It is desirable to diminish the temptations now existing for smuggling, and if the course suggested, of mutual legislation, should be adopted, a revenue system both internal and external, more in harmony with our own, might justly be anticipated from the action of our neighbours, by which this result would be most likely to be obtained."

To meet the objection thus repeatedly urged by the Government of the United States, the clause in the Canada Customs Bill of 1868, to which His Grace calls attention was inserted; the sole object of that clause being that Canada might by means of reciprocal legislation (in case the United States preferred that course) perform its part towards the accomplishment of an object, which, as has been shewn, Her Majesty's Government had repeatedly urged on the United States, and sanctioned both by direct negotiation with that power;—by the solemnity of a Treaty, and by a formal engagement with the Canadian Delegates.

The undersigned has felt it to be so important, that any negotiations which may take place with the United States for the re-establishment of free commercial intercourse between them and Canada, should be untrammelled, that he has perhaps entered at needless detail into a review of the past history of this question and possibly given rise to the impression that in carrying on these negotiations in the future, it is intended, or that it will be necessary to disregard the sound rules of political economy adverted to by My Lords, or practically to violate the International Treaty Engagements of Great Britain, entitling Foreign powers to participate in any concessions which Canada may grant to the United States.

If the obnoxious clause were put in operation, it would only renew in effect an almost identical provision in the Act of 1849, and in the Treaty of 1854.

In the correspondence adverted to in the Despatch of His Grace, which took place on the subject of the Treaty, it was shewn that its operation was not to put an end to, nor even to diminish in any sensible degree, the import from other places than the United States, of articles admitted free under its provisions, nor to subject either England or Foreign Countries, to any practical disadvantage in reference to the import of their products into Canada. Any exemptions which the United States and Canada might respectively find it for their advantage to accord could hardly in their very nature, influence the trade of either country with Foreign nations, since they would probably be limited to the interchange of those products of the two Countries, which, from their proximity, each might profitably interchange with the other, but which neither would receive to any sensible extent from other nations, even if no reciprocal arrangements existed.

The enquiry made by His Grace touching the articles enumerated in schedule D, viz.: "Whether there would be any serious inconvenience to Canada, in the application of the same exemption from duty, to similar articles from all other Foreign Countries, and from Great Britain," in case Canada admitted them free from the United States, will be answered by the subjoined table which distinguishes the amount of duty collected on each of those articles,—the growth and produce of the United States,—the growth and produce of Great Britain, and the growth and produce of Foreign Countries.

In conclusion, the undersigned trusts that as the circumstances of political exigency and the important national considerations which, as stated by Her Majesty's Government, led to the concluding of the former Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States, still exist,—and in even a greater degree than previous to the date of that Treaty,—and as the interests of Canada continue to be seriously affected, Her Majesty's Government will not refuse to give the same weight to these considerations as before; and that in any future negotiations between Canada and the United States, in reference to their trade relations, the Dominion will receive the co-operation and influence of Her Majesty's Government.

It will be the endeavour of Canada to see that they involve no substantial violation of the Treaty engagements of Great Britain, nor any practical departure from those sound economical principles, upon which the undersigned has already expressed his opinion they should be based.

JOHN ROSE,
Minister of Finance.

Ottawa, 3rd September, 1868.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Norse Discovery of America. By ANDREW FOSSUM, Ph.D. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1918. Pp. 160.

HALF a century ago students of Homer might have been divided into two conflicting schools. The one, led by Max Müller, espoused a mythological interpretation, and allowed only a slight substratum of historic fact which we in these later days could never hope to uncover. The second, of whom Gladstone was a typical example, laid emphasis on the historic basis of the poems, and sought by careful analyses of the texts and by a study of Mediterranean geography to separate fact from legend and to restore a true picture of the Homeric world. A similar controversy divides students of the old Norse sagas at the present day. Dr. Fossum, the latest writer to take up arms against Nansen and his folk-lore school, gives us a new theory of the old Norse voyages and a new identification for the three lands, Helluland, Markland and Vinland, which the Northmen are said to have discovered. His theory is based on a series of hypotheses:

1. That one saga arose in Greenland, the other in Iceland, for the glorification of rival families.
2. That both, despite their discrepancies, give essentially correct accounts of the old voyages of discovery.
3. That whatever changes were made in the narratives by scribes, the sailing directions remained absolutely unaltered, and are reliable guides for fixing the locations of the new lands.
4. That the starting points for the various voyages can be fixed with reasonable accuracy, if the texts are properly interpreted.
5. That the descriptions of the new countries are detailed enough to help in determining their locality.

Dr. Fossum has produced very few new facts to support any one of these hypotheses. He depends almost entirely on *à priori* theories of probability. To take the question of the sailing directions, it seems just as probable that a scribe should have altered them wherever they

did not correspond with his own geographical ideas as that he should have copied them mechanically or from a consciousness of their intrinsic value.

The interpretations of various textual passages, and the theory of the origin of the sagas and of their value from an historic standpoint, must be left for the scholars of Icelandic literature to deal with. One or two minor theories that are put forward may be summarily dismissed. The old stone houses in Labrador can hardly have a Norse origin, for they are found in Hudson Bay, in Victoria Land, all over the Parry Archipelago, and in Smith Sound, where the Eskimos still use them for dwellings. Again no serious ethnologist believes that the Algonkins or any other Indian tribe imbibed any religious doctrines from the early Norsemen. With regard to the game of lacrosse, the best authorities, *e.g.* Culin, consider that it was undoubtedly an aboriginal invention.

The letter-press of the book is good, and the photographs clear and instructive. It is unfortunate that Dr. Fossum did not italicize his quotations of the saga texts, and use parentheses or inverted commas for the translations. The intermingling of texts, translations and narrative without any distinction at all is very confusing. Altogether the frequent repetitions in the discussion and the want of logical arrangement in the argument give an impression of unclear thinking, and of an author labouring under the obsession of his own theories.

D. JENNESS

Mélanges Historiques: Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE.
Compilées, anotées, et publiées par GERARD MALCHELOSSE. Vols. ii
and iii. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 148; 156.

IN these two attractive volumes M. Malchelosse continues his useful task of publishing various more-or-less-forgotten papers, chiefly of an historical nature, which have come from the piquant and industrious pen of M. Benjamin Sulte during the past half century. The majority of these papers have been exhumed from out-of-the-way places; a few have not hitherto appeared in print at all. Taken as a whole they afford new testimony to the diligence and versatility of their author. They range over a host of subjects, from the Great Lakes to Versailles, and from the history of the potato to the commercial relations of Canada with the Antilles.

The value of these *Mélanges* does not arise either from the importance of the topics with which they deal or from any originality of treatment. Mr. Sulte, except when writing about his beloved Trois-Rivières, rarely

handles any subject in an orderly way. He merely browses, digressing whenever he feels inclined, and losing no opportunity for a fling at any old historical notion that jars his imaginative temperament. Yet he is never commonplace, and the reader who can derive neither profit nor pleasure from M. Sulte's disquisitions has no business to call himself a lover of history.

The twenty papers in these two volumes are of unequal length and value. Some, like *Les Rochelais et le Canada* and *Les Canadiens aux Illinois au XVIIIe siècle* deal with interesting matters of early settlement and expansion. The chapter on *Le siège du Long-Saut* contains only a portion of what M. Sulte has written on this hectic episode; the rest might well have been added in the interest of completeness. An essay on *Un intendant de la Nouvelle-France* (Champigny) gives various details concerning this hard-working official to whom the colony owed more than its historians have ever realized. Champigny, by the way, was not replaced by Beauharnois on the first of April, 1702, as indicated in the footnote on p. 84. Beauharnois could not have taken over the duties of the intendency until the autumn of that year as his commission was not registered at Quebec until October 5, 1702 (*Edits et Ordonnances*, iii, 57).

M. Sulte's essay of twenty pages on the *Histoire de la pomme de terre* is perhaps the most characteristic thing in these two volumes. Potatoes were grown in French Canada during the early part of the eighteenth century but the habitants did not care for them. They never ate the humble *patates*, wrote a chronicler of the time, if they could get anything better. But they learned to do differently as time went on.

It is in this lighter vein that M. Sulte appears at his best. His chaff is delicious even if his wheat does not always grade very far above the marketable standard. May his days be long in the land!

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de l'Indiana, et Sa Famille. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Quebec: Charrier & Dugal. 1919. Pp. xv, 365.

La Seigneurie du Cap Saint-Claude ou Vincennes. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Lévis. 1919. Pp. 46.

WITH the editorial text reduced to a few connecting paragraphs, the first-named book is a series of documents reprinted for the most part from the provincial archives of Quebec. They bear upon a specific point in the earliest history of the State of Indiana, namely, the identity

of the military officer who was the first commandant at "The Fort", or Vincennes, on the Wabash. It is rather amazing, in view of the conclusions of M. Roy's now authoritative work, to consider the surmises and unsubstantiated pronouncements that have done service for the history of Vincennes in the absence of accurate historical data. But since the subject passed two years ago into the hands of such an expert in French-Canadian genealogy as M. Roy, it has been placed upon a sound basis. The collection of documents which he publishes is a striking example of the dependence of the early history of the American Middle West upon the resources of the Canadian archives.

M. Roy's search for the founder of Indiana has taken him through a wide field of material in the Archives. His conclusion is that the Sieur de Vincennes in the history of Indiana was a grandson of one François Bissot de la Rivière, the first seigneur of Vincennes in Canada. François Bissot came to Canada in 1639; he was accorded the seigniorship of Vincennes in 1672 by Talon (p. 204); he died in Quebec in 1673 (p. 281, *Acte de Sepulture*: F. Bissot). The career of one of the sons, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, is sketched in fifty pages (pp. 32-82), his connection with the Miamis introducing the family of Vincennes into the Ohio Valley. The date of his death is here definitely established as 1719. It is a son of Jean-Baptiste Bissot, namely—François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes—that M. Roy finds to be the commandant on the Wabash.

The *Acte de Naissance* of François-Marie Bissot (p. 300) shows him to have been born in Montreal in 1700. The name Margane which he sometimes employed was that of his godfather, François-Margane, Sieur de Batilly (p. 90). This disposes of the suggestion that his name was a misspelling of something like Morgan St. Vincent, supposedly of Irish origin. The dates of his commissions in the army, attached to the service of the government of Louisiana, M. Roy derives from the Alphabet Lafillard. The identity of François-Marie Bissot is clearly established by a statement in a letter by M. de Vaudreuil dated 1722, to this effect:—

Le Sr de Vincennes fils qui n'est que cadet dans les troupes commande chez cette nation sous les ordres du Sr Du Boisson; il y est depuis 1718 et il y sert fort utilement pour le grand crédit qu'il s'est acquis parmi ces Sauvages qui conservent pour lui la même attache qu'ils avaient pour le Sr de Vincennes, son père (p. 92).

From 1722 to his tragic death in 1736 the narrative of his career is traced through the official correspondence of the French régime, through the Jesuit Relations, and the documents appearing in J. P. Dunn's *The Mission to the Ouabache*.

As far as M. Roy's researches pertain to the special problem he

sought to elucidate, they are all included within less than one hundred pages. The balance of the book, roughly three-fourths, gives the genealogical records of the family of the Bissots de Vincennes through the descendants of the twelve children of the original François Bissot de la Rivière. In addition, a long chapter entitled, "La Seigneurie du Cap Saint-Claude ou Vincennes", part of which is reprinted and bound separately as a pamphlet under the second title above, gives the customary documents to be found in connection with the legal history of any typical seigniory. Neither the genealogy nor the seigniorial records have any special interest except as they relate to the family from which M. Roy has derived the Vincennes connected with the fort on the Wabash.

C. E. FRYER

Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758. By J. S. McLENNAN. With illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1918. Pp. xi, 454. Maps.

LOUISBOURG, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was the strongest fortress in French or in British America. But it was rather an expression of the weakness of France than of her strength. Already her vast empire in the new world was waning. Placentia, the base of her fisheries, had been evacuated and the fertile lands of Acadia, so long the storm centre, had been ceded to the English. A crisis had been reached in the scheme of French colonial development. France still held the adjacent islands in the gulf and the most important of these was Cape Breton, at the gateway of the Saint Lawrence. A naval base was essential to safeguard her possessions and for the protection of her commerce. Here, then, was built the fortress which, during the brief period of its existence, held a unique position.

The book before us may be regarded as the first attempt, in the light of present-day scholarship, to give adequate historical treatment to the story of Louisbourg. In the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1891, Sir John Bourinot published an elaborate paper on "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Régime"; but much water has flowed under the bridges of history since 1891, and sources can now be used which were not thought of thirty years since. In 1915 one of the volumes of the *Chronicles of Canada* series was devoted to the story of "The Great Fortress" from the pen of Lieut-Colonel William Wood. It is an interesting sketch, but distinctly a work of popularization.

Senator McLennan's book will, therefore, be welcomed by students of Canadian history; and, in spite of shortcomings, it deserves a warm welcome for its intrinsic merits. It is the work of an "amateur", using the term in the best sense. Mr. McLennan is a citizen of Cape Breton, and has all the advantages of an intimate first-hand knowledge of the topographical features of the island. He has also—it is manifest on every page—an enthusiasm which has carried him through years of tireless accumulation of material. This material is laid before the student lavishly, yet with economy of space. In Bourinot's memoir there is a considerable amount of literary pabulum; almost every sentence in the present work is substantial historical food. The author deems it necessary to allude in the preface to his practice of telling much of the story in the words of eye-witnesses. He succeeds in doing this without making the text too largely a patch-work of quotations, and succeeds very well in keeping the reader constantly at close grip with the best sources. Best of all are the many important documents published in the appendices, and the magnificent series of maps and illustrations.

But there are also some of the weaknesses which attach to the work of the amateur in history. In the first place, the language is lacking in the force and lucidity which the subject deserves. The sentences frequently drag. Sometimes it is necessary to glance back a second or a third time over a passage in order to grasp the meaning it was designed to convey. The following extracts will serve to illustrate this feebleness in handling the written word which, in less exaggerated form, impairs much of the text:

Thus, owing to the trivial distances they [the officers at Louisbourg] travelled, to that extraordinary genius of the French for dealing with the aborigines, they had neither the training in adventurous journeys nor in the diplomacy which the transforming into permanent allies of new tribes gave to the officer serving in Canada (p. 48).

It [the intemperance evil] impressed Verville so much that he says, in explaining the ineffectiveness of the work going on, that the troops who should be at work escape daily to roam the woods and to get drunk, far in excess of these European nations who were given to drink (p. 57).

Minor infelicities, such as split infinitives, are met with occasionally.

Secondly, the material is not well organized. The order followed is in the main chronological, with occasional digressions on topics of a broader bearing. But statement is made to follow statement, quotation to follow quotation, with an equality of emphasis which hampers the reader in any attempt to give to each its appropriate position in an organized whole. The result is that he closes the book without having received a clear-cut impression. This effect is accentuated by the author's avowed policy of leaving out "events or incidents, often pic-

turesque, which are dealt with fully in the works of Parkman, Wood, and others", a policy which can hardly be approved of in the case of a treatise so comprehensive in other respects as this is found to be.

Thirdly,—and a further factor contributing to the same result,—the book lacks the mechanical aids which the reader has a right to demand. No publication having any claim to scholarship should be issued without a carefully prepared analytical table of contents and a full index. It is incomprehensible how such a work as this could be laid before the public without a table of contents of any kind, without even chapter headings. Had a list been given of the documents to be found in the various appendices scattered through the volume its serviceableness would have been appreciably increased. The index, as an index of proper names, is fairly complete and accurate though there are slips, but as a topical index it is quite inadequate. Compare the few meagre references under the headings "Commerce" and "Trade" with the extensive and valuable information which the book really contains on these subjects.

Finally, the *apparatus criticus* is inadequate. Such a thorough study as this should have been accompanied by an exhaustive and critical bibliography. Mr. McLennan cannot justify his shirking of duty in this respect by facile references to the works of Winsor and Larned, and to his own footnotes, where the bibliographical information vouchsafed is of the slightest. The fact that the book was in print in 1914 accounts for the failure to mention the new edition of Knox's *Journal*, published by the Champlain Society, but it is curious that no allusion is made to that work, which preserves a valuable series of general orders of the besieging army in 1758. The manuscript sources are dismissed with the names of the chief depositories and a few titles of series, presented in misleading form. The uninitiated reader would be led to believe that all the documents in Paris belonged to the general series "Correspondence Générale, C. 11", and that in London the Colonial Office Records were to be found elsewhere than in the Public Record Office. The Public Archives, Ottawa, is merely mentioned as one of the depositories of documents in Canada, although elsewhere we learn that it contains copies of the Census of Isle Royale, and that its collection of maps is to be consulted. Surely, in view of the fact that the primary appeal of the book will be to Canadians, they should be given some inkling of the fact that almost all the official and many of the private documents bearing on the history of Louisbourg can be consulted in transcripts at Ottawa.

It is evident that a praiseworthy attempt has been made to fortify the text with references in footnotes to the sources. Yet the reader will

frequently find statements of fact as to the authority for which he will be left in ignorance. There does not seem to be a just conception of the importance of clearness, uniformity, and precision in such references. Who would at once perceive that by "Que. Hist. Mass." (*sic*: p. 148) and "MSS. Que." (p. 149) was designated the *Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle France* published at Quebec in 1883-1885? Why too should the *Correspondence Générale* series be sometimes designated A.N. (Archives Nationales), sometimes I.R. (Isle Royale—title of the sub-series of chief interest for the present subject), sometimes Arch. Col. C. 11, sometimes C. 11, sometimes C¹¹, and once (p. 15), doubtless by a printer's error, C? Nor can we approve of the practice announced in the preface, that "as the documents in the Archives Nationales are arranged in chronological order in their respective series, it has not been found necessary to cite all references to documents so easily found"; nor of that continually followed here, of referring only to the volume number, without giving the folio. It is also disappointing to find that no descriptive notes accompany the valuable illustrations and maps.

But these criticisms of technique must not be allowed to obscure the real merit of the book. It is a sane, trustworthy and very thorough presentation of the history of France's chief maritime settlement in America. Mr. McLennan does not, like so many Canadian and American writers, forget the European background. The fortunes of Louisbourg are presented to us in their proper setting as those of the out-post of a great nation the main current of whose life ran several thousand miles away. A valiant effort is made to rescue the economic elements of the story from the oblivion into which they are being continually pressed by the dominating military interests.

Two subjects of interest are discussed by the author at considerable length, and in a way which will commend itself to all who appreciate favourably sober judgment and calm impartiality in the treatment of historical problems, however much his conclusions may differ from those popularly accepted as part of the legendary epic of the Conquest of Canada. He does not believe that Louisbourg was the costly and disastrous experiment in colonial imperialism that many have believed; on the contrary, he finds that, by the benefits it conferred on French trade and especially on French fisheries, it was an investment fairly justified on economic grounds. And by a careful analysis of naval conditions in France he illuminates the causes of French failure in the Maritime War and seriously punctures any theories of the inherent racial superiority of the mariners of England.

A. G. DOUGHTY

Travels in the American Colonies. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by NEWTON D. MERENESS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. 694.

THE collection of narratives issued under the above title includes hitherto unpublished journals and reports of political missions or of unofficial expeditions in various parts of North America during the eighteenth century. Phineas Stevens was sent in 1752 by Governor Phips of Massachusetts to Montreal and Quebec to negotiate for the release of prisoners taken in raids during earlier years and still held by the French authorities or by their Indian allies. This was Stevens's second expedition of the kind. The former was in 1749 and his journal kept on that occasion is printed in volume V of the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society. The later journal contains nothing remarkable; it gives business-like details of the transactions, including the amounts paid for ransoms, and ends with a brief description of Montreal. Another journal is that of Lord Adam Gordon who travelled rather extensively in the West Indies and North America during 1764 and 1765. He reached Canada by way of the Onondaga river and Oswego. As a military officer he is interested in the defences and gives valuable details of the forts on Lake Ontario and of their garrisons. His observations on the country he passed through on his way down the St. Lawrence to Quebec are judicious without being very original. He was much taken with the French inhabitants and has ideas on the subject of attracting them to their new rulers. The British population that had come in since the Conquest he briefly characterizes as "the scum of the earth" whose factious and licentious behaviour is not calculated to make the French think well of the system of British rule and he expresses his own notions of how the system could be improved.

H. H. LANGTON

The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by W. STEWART WALLACE. (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 135.

To the modern historian accustomed to using archives the statement is trite that there is more illuminating material for the historian among the unprinted material than the printed. Yet the appearance of innumerable volumes of history based exclusively on the limited but well-known collections of sources and public documents proves that the

lesson is still unlearned even in many of the colleges and universities. This publication has rescued the letters of Francis Maseres from the obscurity of the Hardwicke correspondence in the British Museum, where are stored riches still almost untouched by historians of Great Britain and her colonies. The correspondence of the Hardwicke family, extending through the most important years of the eighteenth century, is particularly valuable to historians of America. Lord Hardwicke and his sons were conspicuous leaders of the Old Whig faction during its ascendancy and decline, and their own observations and those of their correspondents throw floods of light on colonial events so frequently obscured in the documents emanating from administrative officers. In making public the letters of Francis Maseres, one of the important officials of the *Vita Nuova* of British Canada, Mr. Wallace has performed a valuable service.

Maseres was attorney-general of the province of Quebec from 1766 to 1769 and "as such played no small part in the events and deliberations which culminated in the Quebec Act". His letters are addressed for the most part to "Fowler Walker, the London agent of the British merchants in Quebec. Though possibly not complete, for there seem to be gaps in the correspondence, they constitute a series of private letters almost unique, so far as the early days of British rule in Canada are concerned."

Maseres owed his appointment to the Rockingham ministry, who signalized an otherwise rather negative administration with the appointment of some carefully selected men for the government of Canada. The attorney-general, capable and energetic, did not live up to expectations, however, since his Huguenot ancestry had implanted in him a prejudice against Catholics that he never overcame.

One of his duties was to assist in drawing up reports on conditions existing in the colonies. The mistakes of the Proclamation of 1763 were to be corrected. Concerning these activities of Maseres there is in these letters considerable information of a rather intimate nature. The most important report with which he had to do was concerned with "the defects of the system of Judicature" that had been inaugurated. Maseres was requested by Governor Carleton to draw up a preliminary report which he completed in February, 1769. This was rejected. The letters here printed unfortunately throw little light on the obscure question of this rejection and the drafting of another report by the governor.

The letters contain interesting references to the authorship of the famous proclamation of 1763. In a letter of November 19, 1767, Maseres asserts that Governor Henry Ellis was its author (p. 62),

and again on August 11, 1768, he writes: "Mr. William Grant of London . . . assures me that he saw the king's proclamation in Governor Ellises handwriting before it was published" (p. 99). The reviewer has somewhere run across a similar statement, but has hitherto never been able to find corroborative testimony. Ellis was a great friend of Lord Halifax, and he may have influenced the final draft of the proclamation that was due to the latter.

Many other phases of the British administration in Canada during these early years are illuminated by the letters, and the editor is to be commended on making them available and for his careful editorial work.

C. W. ALVORD

The North West Company. By GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON, Ph.D.
(University of California Publications in History, vol vii.) Berkeley:
University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xi, 349.

IN his preface to this thesis, Dr. Davidson, after reminding us that a complete history of the North West Company has been lacking, modestly disclaims such a description for his own work. He hopes that "while by no means a complete history", it may "prove to be of some utility as a study of the origin, activities and end of this famous partnership of fur-traders". One may perhaps agree, without appearing ungracious, that this is not quite such a well-rounded and complete history of the North West Company as we may hope to have some day from Dr. Davidson's or some other pen. At the same time, it is unquestionably, within its limits, an excellent piece of work, scholarly, painstaking, accurate and at the same time readable.

The author has evidently given a great deal of time to searching for documentary material bearing upon the history and methods of the Company, and the personality and achievements of its members, and—what is more to the point—he has used these documents with restraint and good judgment. Much of this material is now printed for the first time, and some of it at least is probably unfamiliar to most students of the fur-trade. It is all more or less vital to a proper understanding of the subject, particularly as to the conditions under which the fur trade was carried on, and the relations of the North West Company at different periods to its competitors, the Hudson's Bay Company, the X Y Company, and the several American trading corporations. Some of the more important of these documents are printed in full in an Appendix, which will, with the exhaustive footnotes to the text itself, prove very useful to students.

If one were to offer any criticism of the work as a whole, it would be as to the desirability of devoting so much space, in a comparatively short study, to the explorations of Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, David Thompson and other members of the Company, who were always rather pathfinders than fur-traders. These explorations had been already fairly well covered in other works, and what was really needed to-day was the fullest practicable treatment of the fur trade *per se*. Such chapters as those dealing with the Early Fur Trade and the Formation of the North West Company, the Last Days of the North West Company, and the Trade and Trading Methods of the North West Company, are altogether admirable, and one could wish that some of the space given to exploration might have been devoted to even fuller treatment of these important and hitherto comparatively untouched topics.

The ruinous competition and corruption which marked the earliest period of the fur trade after the conquest of Canada, and which led up to the formation of the North West Company, as similar conditions at a later period led to the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, are very clearly summarized by Dr. Davidson:

At the beginning of the English trade, it was conducted entirely by the unsupported efforts of individuals. The trader who passed one winter with a newly discovered nation or band of Indians, or in some spot favourable to his traffic, heard of Indians still more remote, among whom provisions might be obtained and trade pursued, with little danger of competition. He, therefore, moved to their neighbourhood and while he was suffered to remain alone, generally preserved good order and obtained furs at a reasonable rate. But, as every person had an equal right to sell goods at the same place, the first discoverer of an eligible situation soon saw himself followed by other traders who were ready to undersell him. Thus circumstanced he, in his turn, resorted to every means for securing to himself the preference of the Indians and for injuring his competitors. Such conduct provoked retaliation. The Indians were bribed with liquor, and the goods were bartered away for a consideration below their value. The consequence was that the traders ruined one another, the Indians were corrupted, and the English character was brought into contempt. In the struggle, innumerable disorders took place and blood was often spilt, till at length, after a competition ruinous to all parties, mutual interests suggested the necessity of establishing a common concern, subject to general rules.

The outrageous profits of the fur trade, and the extent to which the trader imposed upon the innocent and unsuspecting native, has always been a favourite topic among uninformed or disingenuous writers. That the Indian very soon learned to appreciate the true value of his furs, and learned also to play off one trader against another, we have ample evidence in the narratives of western explorers and fur-traders. As to the profits of the business, Dr. Davidson is equally illuminating:—

The goods were ordered from England in October and shipped from London the following spring. They arrived in Canada during the summer. In the course of the succeeding winter they were made up into articles which were required by the Indians, and were then packed into parcels weighing ninety pounds each. These would leave Montreal in May and be exchanged for furs the next winter. The following September the furs would reach Montreal, whence they were shipped chiefly to London. Here they were sold in March and April, and were paid for in May or June. This was three and a half years after the goods were ordered in Canada, three years after they were shipped from London, and two years after they were forwarded from Montreal. Thus the merchant, allowing a year's credit, did not receive a return to pay for these goods and for the expenses connected with them, which were about equal to the value of the goods themselves, until two years after they were considered as cash. This made the trade a heavy business to finance. Some of the goods were a year longer in realizing payment because of the great distance to which they were carried.

As a matter of fact we know from the journals of fur traders that, in the case of such a remote district as the Yukon, the "returns" reached the market only after seven years. The course of trade worked out as follows: *Goods*: first year, reach York Factory; second year, Norway House, near the northern end of Lake Winnipeg; third year, Peel River, near the mouth of the Mackenzie, and over the mountains to Lapierre's House; fourth year, reach Fort Yukon. *Returns*: fifth year, reach Lapierre's House and over to Peel River; sixth year, reach Fort Simpson; seventh year, reach market. Under unfavourable conditions, the returns would probably only reach York Factory the seventh year, and the London market the eighth year.

One notes a few slight errors in Dr. Davidson's text, typographical and otherwise. For instance, it is scarcely accurate to say that "the British fur trade in Canada was recognized and regulated by the charter granted in 1670 by Charles II to Prince Rupert" (p. 3). "Pascoya" was on the lower not the upper Saskatchewan (p. 32). In the last footnote on page 33 "journey" should read "journal". The suggestion in the footnote on page 66 that Mackenzie did not take possession of the newly explored lands for the Crown in 1789 because he was "a civilian with no official status", hardly harmonizes with the fact, noted on page 100, that Thompson, equally a civilian with no official status, "laid formal claim to the country for Great Britain". The statement (p. 96) that Thompson's journals are missing from the autumn of 1801 to the autumn of 1802 is not confirmed by a reference to Tyrrell's edition of the Journals. The assertion that the evidence as to acts of violence in the fur trade "indicates that the North West Company's people were the aggressors" may be well founded, but is scarcely conclusive as here stated, Dr. Davidson basing it solely on the not very impartial testimony of Selkirk (p. 121).

There is also an occasional tendency to overload the footnotes with irrelevant matter; and one sometimes finds the same statement made in practically identical terms on different pages, as, for instance, in the foot-notes on pages 23 and 49; in the reference to Mackenzie's knight-hood on pages 67 and 75; in regard to the proposals for a new association on pages 175 and 188; and as to a French vessel on Lake Superior on pages 3, 31, and 213. But these are only very slight blemishes in an exceptionally fine piece of historical work; and in most cases the author is definitely absolved from responsibility by the editor, who records the fact—particularly interesting to Canadian readers—that the author, who had obtained a commission as lieutenant in the First Canadian Mounted Rifles, was at the front when his book was going through the press, and was therefore unable to give it his personal attention.

It only remains to mention that, in addition to the important series of Appendices, the work contains a useful bibliography—in which, however, one notes the absence of one or two really important titles, such as Tyrrell's edition of Thompson's Journals and Martin's *Selkirk's Work in Canada*; and both a General Index and an Index of Geographical Names. Those who have wasted many hours searching for elusive facts in unindexed historical works, cannot too warmly commend such exceptionally good indexes as these.

L. J. BURPEE

Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario.

By ALEXANDER FRASER, Toronto: The King's Printer. 1918.
Pp. vi, 478.

THIS volume which contains the records of the early Courts of Justice of Upper Canada has for various reasons special interest. In the first place, as furnishing in detail the proceedings of the earliest courts in western Canada, now Ontario, the records reveal the nature and practical operation of the legal institutions of the country at that time. Secondly, they furnish, in the parties to the suits, the witnesses called and the lists of jurymen summoned, the names of most of the prominent early settlers of the respective districts. They thus serve to identify the location, occupation, movements, and, to a considerable extent, the period of life of the pioneers of the country. Lastly, the cases tried in the courts and the outcome of them afford a considerable amount of quite authentic information on the social and economic conditions of the country. Many apparently trivial facts which emerge in the course of the presentation of the cases may serve as quite important data for

settling or clarifying certain issues in connection with other historical material of first rank.

The introduction to the report and its continuation in the first appendix, with several summaries and commentaries relating to certain cases in the record of the court of Luneburg, are contributed by Mr. Justice Riddell, whose contributions to various aspects of Canadian history are well known. Apart from these, the body of the volume consists simply of a transcript of the records of the courts from their earliest sittings after 1788 to 1794 when they were reconstructed. There is also an index. The records furnished are those of the Courts of Common Pleas for the districts of Hesse, Mecklenburg, and Luneburg, also of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for Hesse. The records for the district of Nassau, centering at Newark, or Niagara, have not yet been recovered.

In the introduction Mr. Justice Riddell has furnished a very serviceable survey of the early law systems and courts of Canada from the period of the establishment of civil government in 1763 to 1794. In the case of the English courts they are traced back to their origins in Britain and through the modifications which they underwent in Canada after their first establishment, and until their suspension in consequence of the suppression of the British civil law under the Quebec Act, also in their partial restoration in the western districts after the coming of the loyalists, and quite generally in Upper Canada on its creation as a separate province in 1791. Reference is made (p. 14) to the apparent intention of the British government to send out an ordinance for the establishment of suitable courts on the coming into force of the Quebec Act in 1775, but "this seems not to have been done". As a matter of fact it was done, but the outbreak of the revolutionary war and the invasion of Canada prevented the ordinance from being put into operation. Afterwards the very considerably modified ordinances of 1777 were substituted for it. The original ordinance will be found in the second edition of the *Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791*, issued by the Dominion Board of Historical Publications, now coming from the press.

As regards the contents of the volume under review, it is regrettable that a work which should serve for authentic historical reference and reliable quotation should be marred by so many defects, as the result apparently of very imperfect proof-reading and faulty transcription. Space will not permit a reference to more than a few samples of these defects. In the brief table of contents the district of Luneburg appears as "Lunenbourg". The date 1839 is given as 1849 (p. 3). The Treaty of Paris of 1763 is cited instead of that of 1783 (p. 4). The Treaty of

Utrecht is substituted for that of Paris of 1763 (p. 5). The ordinance of 17th September, 1764, is given as 7th September (p. 6), etc., etc.

It is difficult, of course, to be quite accurate as to names in manuscript documents; and without the opportunity of comparing the transcript with the original one cannot be quite sure that a mistake has been made, even where one is familiar with the names of the persons referred to. But where the clerk of a court who knows his men is entering the names of prominent citizens, he is not likely to enter them in different forms in the same record, much less in the same case. Moreover, there are certain combinations of letters in every language which are practically impossible and should at the very least give pause to a competent editor in the supervision of transcription. Throughout the volume, however, we find the same name given in quite different forms, some of them obviously impossible. In some cases as many as three or four variations occur, and many of these are mechanically transferred to the index; although there is a cheerful disregard of consistency in this respect also. Taking some of the Mecklenburg district names, we find that our friend Gottlieb Christian Baron de Reiffenstein never appears as himself, but once under the somewhat plausible form of Reitenstein, though more frequently under the impossible combination of Reitrenstein. His first Christian name also appears as Gotlip. As a result he enjoys three entries in the index, all strictly incog. Conrad Vandusen, who frequently attended the court as plaintiff, defendant, or jurymen usually does so under the name of Conrood Vanduser. Wrarkman is an obviously impossible attempt to present either Workman, or, more probably, Wartman. George Harpel appears from time to time as Harpie, or, more reasonably, as Harper. John Shibly is practically lost to fame as Chibley. In the well-known firm of Macaulay and Markland, the former occasionally appears as McCauley and sometimes as MacAuley, which is of course excusable. Although the name is also frequently correctly given, the compiler of the index, with strange inconsistency, gives only MacAuley, while other persons, as we have seen, appear under all their variations. Wm. Muir is transcribed occasionally as Mieur and is indexed under both names. Peter Lawson disappears occasionally as Losson. And so on indefinitely.

Even Homer nods, however, for the Justice himself occasionally makes a slip. Referring to the code of practice introduced by the ordinance of 1770, we find the unexpected comment "so that he may run that readeth it" (p. 14). In the notes to the introduction (p. 22), in note 2 referring to the Quebec Act of 1774, we are informed that "the historic quarrel between Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox took place during the debate in the House of Commons on this bill".

It was, of course, in the debate on the bill which became the Constitutional Act of 1791 that this incident took place. Apart from such minor defects, however, the introduction, as already indicated, is quite interesting and valuable.

ADAM SHORTT

British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854. By J. L. MORISON. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1919. Pp. xi, 369.

As an original contribution to Canadian history this work is much more interesting than its title might indicate. It is not simply one more of the futile attempts to grapple with a problem which is no nearer solution to-day than when it was first propounded, simply because the very statement of it precludes a real solution. The achievement of responsible government in Canada, which is the question most discussed in the volume, is still in progress, and most important contributions thereto have quite recently been made by Sir Robert Borden and his government. This question, however, is not specially concerned with the solution of the theoretic problem of British supremacy and Canadian autonomy, but with the establishment of a working co-operation between two peoples, some of whom, on the colonial side, are of British ancestry and therefore with British sentiments and affinities, while others are not, but recognize, nevertheless, the necessity for a mutual co-operation. It is true that Professor Morison sets himself the task of dealing with what he very properly designates "a political antinomy", namely, "the contradiction between imperial ascendancy and colonial autonomy", and the problem, one may add, is no less an antinomy when, as occasionally presented, it is a contradiction between colonial ascendancy or dictation and imperial autonomy. So far as our author insists on dealing with this antinomy, he makes but little progress and, like the many others who have sought to square this circle, eventually emerges through the door by which he entered. When Sydenham's critics confronted him with unanswerable arguments to prove that it was impossible for a Canadian governor to accept opposite instructions at once from the government at home and from the legislature of a colony, he smilingly admitted the completeness of their demonstration but simply replied, with characteristic blandness and self-assurance, that outside the region of speculative politics there was no such problem. And, when they still insisted that theoretically at least it might be encountered, he simply answered that when it was encountered he would face it but not until then. In the meantime he intimated that they would devote themselves to the solution of real problems which were numerous enough to satisfy the most enterprising. His confidence in

the ability of British and colonial statesmen to solve practical, as distinguished from theoretical, problems was thoroughly justified and the antinomy referred to has never taken a practical form. *Solvitur ambulando* was the attitude adopted by the first governor who undertook to instruct Canadians in the practical operation of responsible government, and this has been adopted by his successors down through Macdonald and Laurier to Borden, whose important additions to the practical solution of responsible government have quite demoralized the fine cobwebs of those still poring over the old antinomy. Professor Morison, however, in spite of the title of his book, has far too much interest in the flesh and blood problems of humanity to confine himself to the discussion of paradoxes, even though the paradoxes themselves are stated with a freshness, quaintness, and ingenuity which almost gives them the semblance of reality, as in the case of the stories of skilfully humanized animals, so entertaining for children.

By far the most important contribution of the volume is the series of vitally human studies of the four Canadian governors-general from 1839 to 1854—Sydenham, Bagot, Metcalfe, and Elgin—in their different contributions to the development of responsible government in practice. Here we find a frankness and vigour of treatment which are entirely refreshing. Apart from the personal equipment of the author in scholarly training, fair-mindedness, absence of racial prejudice, and attractive literary style, his work has the great advantage of a first-hand study of documents, hitherto unavailable, or but slightly employed by writers on Canadian history. Aside from the general run of secondary materials, there are three sets of documents which are available for the special study of the governors of the period, and of which the writer has made full use. There are the ordinary formal official documents, including the official despatches of the governors-general with the colonial secretary. These are liable to public presentation and scrutiny and are framed accordingly. There is next the secret and confidential official correspondence, which is not to be given to the public until at least the problems being dealt with are solved, and the political personages whose characteristics and operations are described, have permanently passed from the political stage, and preferably also from the cares of this life. Then there is the private correspondence with ministers and others in which a still more intimate treatment of the interests and problems of political life and the social and personal atmosphere in which the parties lived and operated is presented, and where, much more than in the other two series, the personal characteristics of the correspondents are revealed. In varying degrees and quantity these three series are available in the case of each of the four governors dealt with. The

fullest material is found in the case of Elgin and the least complete in the case of Metcalfe. From these intimate and first-hand sources Professor Morison has largely drawn for his studies of the governors. Thus, though the activities in which they are chiefly presented are official and political, their personal characteristics are constantly utilized to throw light on their political and constitutional actions.

Elgin's personality proved the most attractive for the author and he is obviously the hero of the book. This accounts for a certain more or less unconscious tendency to exaggerate his share, important as it undoubtedly was, in the evolution of responsible government. This is offset, however, though at some expense in consistency of treatment, by the generous recognition of the special contributions of the others in the chapters on Sydenham, Bagot, and Metcalfe. If any criticism may lie against the treatment of the personal contributions made by the different governors, it is perhaps chiefly to be observed in the case of Metcalfe. His personal integrity receives ample justice, but his constitutional contribution is rather minimized. Whatever his theoretic views on the importance of British supremacy, he fully recognized that in practice Sydenham had introduced the principle of responsible government. In this Bagot, with the assistance and advice of Sydenham's Civil Secretary, Murdoch, and his financial administrator, Hincks, had followed him. Bagot's special contribution was to admit the French to a share in the government, once it had been demonstrated to them that they could not, as heretofore, frustrate the union, but now might share in its administration. Metcalfe himself, by becoming leader of the opposition and carrying the country at a general election, also ruled as Prime Minister with the support of a popular majority and thus afforded responsible government in spite of himself. Meanwhile, the defeated ministers of the Sydenham-Bagot party were learning of necessity what it was to carry on an organized opposition with no leadership but their own, and with men of the capacity of Hincks, Baldwin, and Lafontaine the instruction was not lost. Thus, when the political pendulum once more swung to the liberal side, Elgin, who had inherited without prejudice the Metcalfe ministry, saw that it was rapidly losing popular support and was sure to be defeated, but that a ministry quite able to take care of itself would succeed. He was able, therefore, to be the first Canadian governor to stand aloof from the leadership of either party and thus leave responsible government by majority, in domestic affairs at least, to be carried on by Canadian leaders, in this case under Baldwin and Lafontaine. The circumstances of the Canadian political evolution had determined what Elgin's special contribution to the ultimate result should be, and he, like his three pre-

decessors, had the insight and courage and, in his particular case, the spirit of self-sacrifice necessary to deal with the situation. In this process the peculiar services of Metcalfe were no less vital and necessary to the finished product than those of any of the others, Elgin included.

The chapter, "British Opinion and Canadian Autonomy," contains an interesting summary of views and anticipations by British politicians as to the future of imperial and colonial relations. We find that they were just about as accurate as similar anticipations of the development of domestic political problems in Britain itself, or of the relations of the Empire to foreign countries, including the United States. The closing chapter, "The Consequences of Canadian Autonomy," is much the least satisfactory. The materials are inadequate and their arrangement exhibits haste and lack of organization, with unnecessary repetitions of former statements. As indicated, however, the volume contains much that is new, interesting and valuable for a special period of Canadian history. As a whole, it is undoubtedly more important as a prophecy of mature and finished work to come than as a final expression of the author's views on the more fundamental problems dealt with.

ADAM SHORTT

Leaders of the Canadian Church. Edited by Canon BERTAL HEENEY, with a Preface by the Primate. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. 1918. Pp. vii, 319.

WE have found this book more interesting than we expected. It was not an easy task to secure ten writers to write these short biographies of ten Bishops of the Church of England, and it is not an easy task to review them. On the whole, the work is well done, and the Church has every reason to be grateful to the editor for the idea and to the writers for very considerable labour. Each sketch is furnished with an excellent portrait of the bishop whose life story is briefly told. In a subsequent edition we hope the sketches will be prefaced with a brief analysis of the contents. There is no index. The bishop's see and the date of his occupancy has to be hunted up in the text of each chapter.

In the first five sketches, there is a large historical interest. The times were stirring. The bishops were pioneers. The conquest of French Canada, the American Revolution, the apathy of civil officials, the scattered character of the church population, the need of clergy, churches, schools, colleges and endowments all enter into the story. The tasks before the bishops were certainly formidable. On the whole they did their work well, sometimes with signal ability. Canon Vroom

writes of Charles Inglis, the courageous loyalist, and first Bishop of Nova Scotia (1787-1816); Canon Kittson, of Jacob Mountain, the first Bishop of Quebec (1793-1825); the Rev. R. C. Johnstone, of John Strachan, a justly famous educationist, and first Bishop of Toronto (1839-1867); Archdeacon Raymond tells the story, and tells it well, of John Medley, the first Bishop of New Brunswick (1845-1892); and the Rev. E. J. Peck, himself a well-known missionary, writes of John Horden's labours in the north land as Bishop of Moosonee (1872-1893).

In the later sketches the interest becomes more largely personal, as indeed was inevitable, four of the five studies dealing with famous preachers. Canon Tucker writes an eloquent eulogy of William Bennett Bond, a gifted organizer, the Bishop of Montreal, and afterwards Primate of Canada. Dr. Renison writes well of Edward Sullivan, the Bishop of Algoma, to whose profound presentation of Christianity Sir William Osler paid a remarkable tribute. Canon Dyson Hague has a subject after his own heart in writing of Maurice Scollard Baldwin, Bishop of Huron, and does ample justice to the bishop's simple but noble piety. Archdeacon Davidson has hardly done justice to Bishop Dumoulin of Niagara. The Bishop's reserve perhaps made the task difficult. But the sketch remains meagre and disappointing. Dr. Howard, of Montreal, closes the volume with an account of James Carmichael, Bishop of Montreal. Many living to-day in the Canadian church have been thrilled and inspired by the wonderful eloquence of these last four bishops. The Canadian church owes a great deal to Ireland as well as England. Ireland perhaps is plagued at home with too much eloquence. But when this article is exported it commands a very high premium. It is perhaps unfortunate that at a time of fast moving thought, these eloquent preachers all bequeathed to the Canadian church a heritage of conservative thinking which has made reasonable modernism a very difficult plant to grow in Canadian soil. No doubt conservatism is a help to the preacher, but his spiritual children pay the price. On the whole, when we bear in mind the enormous routine work of bishops of the church, and the difficulty of making bricks without straw, the men whose life-story is unfolded in these pages form a very remarkable group. The Canadian church can look back with admiration upon the patience, labour, faithfulness, and, in several cases, conspicuous ability of these devoted pioneers and leaders.

E. C. CAYLEY

Robert Randall and the Le Breton Flats: An Account of the Early Legal and Political Controversies Respecting of a Large Portion of the Present

City of Ottawa. By HAMNETT P. HILL. Ottawa: James Hope and Sons. 1919. Pp. 62.

It was inevitable that the story of the Le Breton Flats should be told at some time; and Mr. Hill has given a very interesting account of many of the facts connected with Robert Randall's wrongs in reference to this property—for wrongs Randall undoubtedly experienced, legal and regular as were the proceedings. Robert Randall was, like another early agitator, Gourlay, forced into politics, though by a wholly different method. He does not seem to have had anything in view but legitimate business, but by a series of outrages for which members of the official and governing class—the Family Compact—were responsible, he was thrown into the arms of the radicals. No one can read the Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada for 1853 without feeling indignation at the way Randall was treated, although (as was the case with Gourlay) some of his misfortunes were brought on by his own lack of prudence, not to say ill-temper.

To make a short story, Randall being the owner of valuable land where Ottawa now stands, lost it for a trifling debt to Boulton; and partly by misfortune, but partly also by neglect, found himself prevented from obtaining any redress by the existing rules of law and practice. William Lyon Mackenzie was, and to the last continued to be, his staunch friend, but he was not able to obtain for Randall legislative relief. The whole story, with the original documents, is told in the Appendix already mentioned.

For a popular essay, it may be thought, authorities need not be cited, but it is to be hoped that some one, Mr. Hill or some other as well qualified, will give us the story with citations. Then, too, should be told the dealings with the government, concerning which many documents slumber in the archives at Ottawa.

It is to be regretted that some errors have crept in. Randall was not the grantee of the water power of the Chaudière (p. 1); of course he could have utilized the water power in a measure, but not to any great advantage, without the islands, which he tried to get but failed. The government was not at York in 1793 (p. 8); D'Arcy Boulton was not "the son of an English barrister who emigrated [*sic*] to Canada in 1787" (p. 11); unless, indeed, it is meant that he was the son of an English barrister and emigrated to Canada. There was no "Solicitor, Mr. Jonathan Rudsdell" (p. 12); while the Law Society Act of 1797 contemplated that there might be solicitors to act in His Majesty's

Courts of Equity, no Court of Equity was in fact erected until 1837. There was no "Mr. John Beardsley, the senior member of the Upper Canada bar" (p. 20); although Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley might not unfairly claim such a title. Can it be that Mr. Hill means Bartholomew Crannell, the first City Clerk of St. John, often called "Father Crannell" as the first called to the bar of New Brunswick? One of his daughters married the Reverend John Beardsley—whence Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley. The rule that a writ of *fiery facias* against lands should not be acted upon until after the expiration of a year was statutory, not simply a rule of court (p. 24):—the statute of 1803 (43 George III, c. 1, U.C. assented to by the King after having been reserved) was the first provincial Act.

There are misprints which must be as annoying to the author as to the reader. "Emmigrated", "chattles", "emnity", etc., are of course mere slips which the printer should have corrected; but we have Sir James Buchanan Macauley's name given as "MacCauley" and "McCauley" indifferently, McGillivray drops one i, Procter is "Proctor", Levius Peters Sherwood becomes "Livius" (Livius was not *persona grata* with that class of United Empire Loyalists), Millard Fillmore, President of the United States, is "Fellmore" (perhaps not an inappropriate name, but not the right one), and Christopher Alexander Hagerman—"that great mastiff, Hagerman," as Mrs. Jameson calls him—is always "Hagarman," which is distinctly worse than the former spelling "Haggerman."

Mr. Hill is to be thanked for his interesting narrative, which we accept as an instalment only.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Georges-Etienne Cartier. Par BENJAMIN SULTE. Augmenté et publié par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. (*Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iv.) Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 103.

M. SULTE's slight sketch of Sir George Cartier has considerable importance, since it is an account by one of the few survivors who knew Cartier intimately. Cartier died in 1873, nearly fifty years ago, and most of his generation have followed him to the grave. M. Sulte is so much of a veteran as to have been present in 1864, fifty-five years ago, at the Quebec Conference when the present constitution of Canada was framed; and since that time he has been engaged almost continuously in the task of governing Canada as an official of the Department of Militia and in researches into the history of the country. No one knows better

than he the fruits of Cartier's labours in the political system of Canada. M. Sulte divided his study into two parts, the first an estimate in numbered paragraphs of what Cartier achieved, the second a reprint, with new additions, of a sketch of Cartier and chiefly of his personal characteristics, written shortly after his death. To M. Sulte Cartier is always a hero. We learn nothing of his limitations, the hardness of the man of affairs whose gospel was work for himself and for every one else and the personal touchiness which made him sulk when Sir John Macdonald was knighted and he himself was given only a C.B. and which was soothed only when he received the honour of a baronetcy with rank superior to Macdonald. These are, it may be, spots on the sun. M. Sulte pictures a superman, and treasures sacredly even fragments of furniture which Cartier used.

The place of Cartier in the history of Canada is none the less important. Relentless time, which reduces so many supposedly great men to oblivion, is increasing steadily our sense of the importance of Cartier's work. He was the leader on the French side of the remarkable combination of ultramontanes in Quebec and of Orangemen in Ontario which kept the Conservative party so long dominant. Cartier was in reality too liberal for the ultramontanes. He had been an armed rebel in 1837, and in the end they abandoned him; but he had their support in bringing about the federation of Canada, and for this phase of his work no praise can be too high. Cartier was, as we have indicated, rather a hard man of affairs. He never rested. He was worn out and died before he reached the age of sixty. His activities as summarized by M. Sulte are astounding. He reorganized the judicial districts in Quebec so as to make the courts readily accessible. He moderated the criminal law so as to reduce capital offences. He had a share in abolishing the burdensome seigniorial tenure which tended to keep Quebec feudal. He codified the civil law of Quebec, basing his code not merely, as is often supposed, on the Code Napoléon, but introducing so many features from English law that critics could say that Quebec had the best of both systems. He framed the existing municipal code of Quebec, and he did much to promote mutual tolerance in education by Protestants and Catholics. Side by side with these higher interests he had a keen eye for material development, and especially for the promotion of railways. His zeal for the Grand Trunk Railway was not wholly disinterested, since he was counsel for the railway. But he had a hand in the promotion of the Intercolonial Railway and his last most active days were concerned with the building of the Pacific Railway across the continent. He had a share in causing what we know as the Pacific

Scandal, but he died before that unsavoury episode brought disaster to his political friends.

Cartier's chief monument remains, however, the part he played in creating the Canadian Federation. To-day, for reasons not based solidly on valid causes, Quebec and Ontario regard each other with suspicion and some measure of hostility; and we rather wonder that, half a century ago, a French Canadian leader could have had so easy a task in leading Quebec into a political union which offered to the French Canadians no hope that they could ever be more than a minority. The key to Cartier's success was his steady insistence that the local governments of the two provinces should control the things that chiefly mattered in daily life—municipal law, education, religion. The union of a quarter of a century with Upper Canada in a single legislature had led to acrid differences on all these topics. Cartier saw, and led the leaders of the Church to see, that control of these things would be safer with Quebec as a separate province than it was in the existing troubled union with the English-speaking province. In spite of much angry debate it is certainly true that Quebec has never regretted that decision. It made possible the continuance of laws and customs which would have changed, but for the bulwark of a provincial boundary against Ontario. Thus, in the results of Cartier's work, we see the paradox that a wider union has fortified and protected a local nationalism.

M. Sulte, in spite of his liberal outlook, writes as a son of New France rather than of federated Canada. He admires Cartier's rather second-rate verse, the work of a busy lawyer chiefly self-educated. He praises the alertness and the explosive merriment of his friend. One touch he notes which is quite charming—his love of reading. Sir John Macdonald was fond of French romances and one day among a number of papers taken from his pockets there lay a novel by Le Sage. He seemed shame-faced until Cartier picked up on his own table another novel by the same author. One wonders whether French-speaking and English-speaking leaders in Parliament to-day share common distractions of so alluring a kind.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Laurier: Sa vie: ses oeuvres. By L. O. DAVID. Beauceville: L'Eclair-
eur Limitée. 1919. Pp. 268.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By PETER MCARTHUR. Toronto: J. M. Dent
and Sons. 1919. Pp. 184.

SENATOR DAVID was perhaps Sir Wilfrid Laurier's closest friend and most intimate adviser. "J'ai beaucoup écrit, depuis cinquante ans", writes M. David, "sur l'illustre défunt dont la mort a fait au cœur de la patrie

une plaie qui saigne encore." From the first notable speech of Laurier in the Quebec Legislature in 1871, his friend saw the promise of a great career and the present eulogy, therefore, is warranted by a sincere devotion which is life-long. The book is rather a biography in outline than an elaborate and thorough analysis. The outstanding events in the statesman's long period of public service are reviewed, and none of the episodes which evoked party criticism are omitted. But it is not possible in three hundred pages of large print to deal fully, or even adequately, with a career so full and covering so important an epoch as the years during which Sir Wilfrid Laurier, either in Opposition or as head of the Government, exerted a potent influence upon the policy of Canada. M. David, whose candour as a historian no one can deny, does not shrink from dealing with those questions of race and creed, which, combined with others, finally divided the Liberal party and overthrew the Government. "Le facteur le plus puissant des élections de 1911," contends the author, "fut le fanatisme religieux, national et impérialiste." This was not confined to one province. "C'est en l'accusant d'être trop anglais, trop impérialiste et pas assez catholique qu'on le démolit dans la province de Québec." The part taken by M. Bourassa and his powerful following in the struggle is fearlessly set forth. M. David's political comments are most interesting throughout and his narrative of the concluding years of his leader is touched by the emotion which is at once appropriate and sincere. He records the last words of the dying man, on hearing that a priest had been sent for: "C'est bien, mais je ne suis pas aussi malade que vous pensez, seulement je me sens faible." This tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, marked equally by intimate knowledge and personal affection, will not be passed over when posterity forms a final judgment upon the qualities of the distinguished statesman. The illustration includes the house where Laurier was born and several family portraits. The book is neatly, though not sumptuously, printed and bound.

In a readable, unconventional appreciation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. McArthur has gathered together anecdotes, quotations from the dead statesman's speeches, and estimates of his life and work by other writers. The selection has been well made. The charm of the old Chief is illustrated at every turn and his exquisite courtesy, springing as it did from a kind and genial nature, was equal to every emergency, either social or political. The author modestly disclaims having attempted a great book. If, however, it does no more than to impress upon Canadians the value of good manners in a public career and the proof that they are always the product of a cultivated understanding and a finished taste, the book was worth doing. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

added much to the dignity of parliamentary life, and the rapid sketches by means of which Mr. McArthur draws the portrait will probably be more widely read than a weightier biography.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Reminiscences, Political and Personal. By SIR JOHN WILLISON. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 358.

THERE is in Sir John Willison's *Reminiscences* a wealth of suggestion, whether the subject be the country life of Ontario fifty years ago, the struggles of a young writer for the press, the influence of newspapers, or the careers of public men whose names are famous in Canada. The personal note is always subordinate to the matter under discussion. The effect is to deepen the favourable impression produced by the author when he deals with men and events of importance. His judgment, sincerity, and accuracy raise no doubts in the mind of the reader that we have in this work a valuable contribution to the political and social history of the country. It is not possible to do justice here to the literary quality of the book, to its attractive style, or to the humour and insight so freely displayed in its pages. This task must reluctantly be left to the purely literary reviewer. It is from the standpoint of political history that we should examine a work which lifts the curtain upon Canadian public policy of the past forty years as it has not been lifted before, and reveals to us with convincing candour the motives and characters of statesmen about whom the mists of party criticism still cling.

In truth this form of political narrative has not hitherto yielded much of value to the serious student. The recollections of Sir Francis Hincks, produced in extreme old age, are dull, and, if they embody useful material, it is chiefly of secondary importance. The Canadian portion of Goldwin Smith's autobiography is tame compared to the vivid outpourings which he contributed in magazine or newspaper with amazing energy, and for so long a period, to every kind of controversy. The *Reminiscences* of Sir Richard Cartwright must always have a place in Canadian historical writings, but the marked acerbity of tone which pervades them undoubtedly detracts from the weight of the evidence. The reflections of Sir John Willison are temperate. The testimony which supports them carries conviction, and where it is not direct and personal wears the air of strong probability.

The estimate of Alexander MacKenzie and his Government shows that the author is able to recall the earlier years of his own political activities in a dispassionate spirit. MacKenzie gave honest and econo-

mical administration, but no straight issue between free trade and protection was involved in the struggle which restored Sir John Macdonald to office and ushered in the National Policy. The electors had to decide between a low tariff and a high one, and as the years went on the tariff question became so closely related to the industrial and financial fabric of the country that the application of the free trade theory was never possible. No responsible leader proposed it. To Macdonald the author is generous yet discriminating, praising without stint his ability and personal charm, but concealing none of his weaknesses. A fairer estimate of this statesman is not to be found in any other quarter. The same may be said of the character-sketches of Mowat, Blake, Tupper, Ross, Whitney, and others. These figures pass before us drawn to the life.

The recent political history of any country is often dull unless the narrative is cast in a form so biased as to be practically valueless. Sir John Willison has been behind the scenes. Careful not to reveal secrets which must be left to later generations to discover, he presents much that is novel and entertaining. The extent to which a public man is moulded by his environment and in what degree he controls events is made clear. The study of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is especially interesting in this respect. The war has made us familiar with the peculiar authority wielded by the press in public affairs and no part of the book is more fascinating than the revelations of what is constantly taking place in politics if the press is influential. Where the newspapers correctly interpret popular opinion they become irresistible, and under universal suffrage the situation tends to a reduction of personal power and adds a new perplexity to the duties of statesmen. The author incidentally sets forth the reasons for the belief that Canada is a hard country to govern, since to race, geography, and economical factors must now be added the power of the press and the never-ceasing intrusion of sectarian education into the federal sphere. The framers of the Federation Act were probably quite unaware that in the composition of the Senate and the control of education they settled nothing finally. These are some of the Canadian problems upon which Sir John Willison brings to bear his experience, judgment, and excellent humour, thus helping in no slight measure to redeem Canadian history from the provinciality and harshness that have too long been its bane.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Canada's Sons and Great Britain in the World War: A Complete and Authentic History of the Commanding Part Played by Canada and the British Empire in the World's Greatest War. By COLONEL GEORGE G. NASMITH, C.M.G., with an introduction by GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. xx, 606.

Canada at War: A Record of Heroism and Achievement, 1914-1918. By J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Containing also *A Story of Five Cities.* By the REV. ROBERT JOHN RENISON, D.D., Chaplain, 4th Canadian Infantry Brigade. Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review. 1919. Pp. viii, 448.

"The Times" *Documentary History of the War: Vol. VI. Overseas Part I: Canada.* London: Printing House Square. 1918. Pp. xi, 520.

Canada in the Great World War: An Authentic Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of the Nations. By various authorities. Toronto: United Publishers of Canada. Vol. II: *Days of Preparation.* 1918. Pp. viii, 374. Vol. III: *Guarding the Channel Ports.* 1919. Pp. vi, 403.

THE titles, and more especially the sub-titles, of the books here grouped for review demonstrate clearly that the literature of the war has entered a new, and for this generation the penultimate, phase of its development. More than a year ago publishers began to find that the market for the record of personal experiences had been overworked, with the lamentable result that many a soldier's account of the later open fighting and the final advance, which must have provided much of the most dramatic incident of the war, will perhaps never be passed on. The demand of to-day is for a summing up, a record of the completed achievement, a history of the war.

The writer who sets out to meet this requirement labours under obvious difficulties. He is well aware that war-correspondents and official despatches do not tell the whole truth, and that individual soldiers do not know it. Yet the complete official records are not opened to him, and will not indeed be available until the need for this type of book has begun to pass. It may safely be assumed that all these compilations were in the press before the bulk of the Canadian records had crossed the Atlantic. It will still be long before this great collection is adequately housed at Ottawa, longer still before it is in condition for rapid examination. Work has hardly been begun upon the first stage of official record, the battalion and regimental histories based on battalion war diaries and orders. Even the official documents are none too accessible to the Canadian compiler, for they were poorly

and sometimes inaccurately reproduced in the press. "*The Times*" *Documentary History* is very thorough as far as it goes, but the end of the only Canadian volume so far published in book form (number six of the series) just gets the First Contingent to sea in the second month of the war.

The volumes before us do not overlap, for they are written for obviously different purposes and publics. Colonel Nasmith's book must not be judged by its title and sub-title. It is not an eighteenth century libel, but a vigorous and not unsuccessful effort to comprise within two covers a popular summary of the gigantic spread of war activities, Canadian and British. Written "during the many months of what would otherwise have been a long and tedious convalescence", it has the merits and the faults of Colonel Nasmith's earlier, and less ambitious, *On the Fringe of the Great Fight*. The author makes no more effort now than then to suppress his own personality and vigorous opinions, and wastes no more time on revision of proof. (He might, for example, have accepted his G.O.C.'s spelling of Mount Sorrel, and not have given two variants of it himself on one page.) He provides no index, and his chapter headings can hardly be taken to supply the deficiency when we find the fall of Baghdad described in a chapter headed "Canadian Corps captures Vimy Ridge". But, for the very large public that wants an account of the war to read as a continuous story and not for reference, Colonel Nasmith has marshalled an extensive array of fact to illustrate his theme of the might of the Empire; and General Currie's restrained and earnest tribute to the Canadian soldier adds distinction to a book which, especially by its inclusion of chapters on the Conference and the Treaty of Peace, has a real educational value for the class that normally absorbs very little from its newspapers.

Mr. Castell Hopkins, on the other hand, sets forth his data, as befits the editor of *The Canadian Annual Review*, in a form much better suited to the needs of the reference table. He is little concerned with the military history of the war; merely seventy pages are devoted to the Canadians at the front, and not a few of these are taken up with quotations from Lord Beaverbrook, Mr. Buchan, and others whose books are probably at most of his readers' elbows. Canadian war politics, economics, and philanthropic effort occupy much space, and the two latter subjects are illustrated with imposing statistics. Mr. Hopkins founds this continuous narrative on facts "gathered by him with infinite labour and pains," as Sir Robert Borden says in an appreciative foreword. Minor errors in such accumulation of fact there must doubtless be. The final command of the P.P.C.L.I., for example, is stated to have resided in "Major C. J. T. Stewart, 27-3-18 to End of

War"; whereas Major Stewart was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, fell during the advance in Bourlon Wood, and was succeeded, after a short interregnum, by Lt.-Col. Hamilton Gault, the founder of the regiment. Other errors of detail that might strike the notice of readers with special knowledge of limited phases of the subject would not detract from the very considerable value that this book will have as a work of ready and general reference.

Canada in the Great World War is an enterprise of far wider ambitions. It bids fair to be the authoritative general history of the Canadian part in the war until such time as an official publication sees the light of day. Of the many evidences that its editorship is wisely placed, none is clearer than the deliberation with which the volumes are being given to the public. The second, which went to press during the final offensive, just reaches the fringe of the battle-field with an excellent account of the blooding of the Princess Patricia's in February, 1915; the third, published late last year, brings the story down, so far as the C.E.F. is concerned, only to the battle of Sanctuary Wood and the successful counter-attack of June, 1916.

The editor may perhaps be fairly criticized for his choice of volume titles: the student will certainly be wise to ignore them, and turn straight to the table of contents. Volume II is entitled *The Years of Preparation*, meaning, according to an editorial foreword, "the first three years of Canada's participation in the Great World War. . . . In no way, save in the readiness of the people to make every sacrifice, was Canada prepared for war." This is an adequate and a very reasonable explanation for the collection into an early volume of a most valuable series of articles on the machinery that created the Canadian army; financial and industrial conditions and developments; the problems of the alien enemy, conscription, and the censorship; the mobilization of the railways and philanthropy. There was another excellent reason of course for throwing the war at home forward in the plan of the work: the materials were available far earlier than those required for the history of Canada in France and Flanders. On the other hand, the editorial definition does not fit the quarter of the book that deals with the very vital matter of the early history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Canada, in England, and in France, which, for all General Hughes's faults (bluntly castigated by more than one contributor) did not take three years to prepare. It would have been a better plan to leave the beginnings of the C.E.F. to the third volume. Again it is very doubtful whether the "guarding" of "the Channel ports" can be cribbed within the operations of 1915. With the choice of contributors to the second volume, however, and with the arrangement of their

chapters, there is little fault to be found; and for the avoidance of overlapping the editor is entitled to all gratitude and praise. Two chapters in particular, both of a rather general nature, one by Mr. John Lewis and the other by Mr. J. E. Middleton, strike a really high level. Mr. Hanbury-Williams's contributions on the creation of "Ottawa" and the censorship are models of compression; and indeed the whole volume, compiled from materials that are accessible and readily checked, and handled by men who obviously realized that they were called upon to make "dull" subjects attractive, will hardly be bettered.

The third volume is not so satisfying; but the test is far more severe, for it must stand or fall largely by the impression made by Col. Hunter's description of the second battle of Ypres, which is already an oft-told story. For that reason, his opportunity was a great one. He has failed fully to realize it, and in two ways. First of all, he succeeds only very little better than his many predecessors in enabling the reader to envisage the action as a whole. Let it be granted that this is, in the case of second Ypres, an extraordinarily difficult task. None the less, it has to be attempted if ever the lay reader is to make the wood out for the trees. Col. Hunter has not attempted it, and counts this unto himself for righteousness: "This then," he concludes, "is less the Chapter of the General than the Book of the Battalion." Every soldier, whether he was there or not, appreciates this, the battalion officer's, point of view. But it is not history, and it does not break new ground. We have had the book of the battalion at Ypres in many editions already. But the far harder task of putting the reader beside the general has hardly been tackled. Must we now wait for official histories, which will not be written till the memory of the coming of the gas is very, very distant, to tell us the story as a whole? Within the limits that he has set himself, Col. Hunter has done his work with discretion and lucidity. One may take exception to occasional points, as for example a statement that "it was not until 1917 that we learnt to keep back a percentage of all ranks"—a practice that was surely in force in some brigades at least as early as the offensive of 1916. But generally speaking the story has lost nothing in the retelling, and the diagrams, though none too plentiful, are, for once in a way, really based on the author's story and are consequently of genuine value. There is, however, a second fault far less venial than that of the method of treatment, which is, of course, an arguable point in a non-official history. This is a fault of style which comes perilously near to being a breach of taste. Col. Hunter impresses the reader with being concerned above all things to make his narrative "readable". The result is that he has condescended to make it cheap by a number of entirely unnecessary semi-flippant

interpolations. There is cheap satire, as in the footnote which refers, wholly irrelevantly, to "that astute British document the Army Act, s. 177, which apparently never heard of such a thing as a Dominion"; cheap invective of this sort: "Not until that April day did the world learn that a Kaiser of the Germans had robbed Caesar of the Borgias of his toxic laurels"—a periphrasis better suited to the journalist of the baseball diamond than to the historian of Canada's days of glory; cheap litotes that speak of a very gallant Toronto officer "acquiring that persistent casualty habit that led him to add another gold stripe to his sleeve whenever he entered an action." Small enough taken singly, these lapses, recurring on almost every page, do most seriously mar the contribution as a whole, and indeed the effect of the whole volume. Col. Hunter is an excellent describer of battles, and it is to be hoped that his name will reappear in later volumes of this work. But his effect will be so much the greater if he will learn from such of his fellow contributors as Mr. Lewis or Mr. Marquis that the way to be readable is to be simple, and that tricking the stage of glorious death and high endeavour is almost unpardonable. His account of the battle of Festubert is very much freer from these blemishes, and is far superior to his principal contribution to the volume.

The chapters on the holding of the Salient in the spring of 1916 and the battles of June have been entrusted to Mr. Roland H. Hill. They are unimpeachable, but not very distinguished. The account of the battle of June 2 has been curtailed to a mere six pages, an altogether insufficient allowance for an action which, if miniature by the standards of this war, was in its way quite epic. Such condensation was bound to result in important omissions; there is, for instance, apparently no reference to the very effective enfilade support given by the Royal Canadians on the left flank to the rest of the besieged line. A still more serious omission, and one to which no contributor should have consented, is the absence of any kind of trench sketch to illustrate either this action or the operations that followed. The most striking feature of the volume is a long appendix of nearly fifty pages by Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott on the Canadian Indian in the War. Two shorter appendices on Food and Fuel Control throughout the war appear to have been left over from the second volume. In all probability their author, Mr. R. E. Gosnell, felt it impossible to complete them until the war was definitely brought to a conclusion. This is only an illustration of the difficulties that the editor of a work as ambitious as this has had, and will have, to face; and the critic who takes into account the problems inseparable from the writing of a complete history of the war within a year or two of its close must grant a full measure of praise

to the enterprise and look forward very confidently to the appearance of later volumes, in the preparation of which many stumbling-blocks as yet unmoved will have ceased to trouble the editor or his contributors.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

Canada's Hundred Days: With the Canadian Corps from Amiens to Mons, Aug. 8-Nov. 11, 1918. By J. F. B. LIVESAY. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. 421.

PERHAPS Canadians may have been accused at times of unduly boasting about their part in the last stages of the war. Boasting is not a good occupation for a nation, especially a victorious one. But who is there, really knowing the facts, who will deny that they have a right to be at least joyfully proud of their part? Why, too, should they not set it down in straightforward honest English so that those who would learn may know why they should be proud and why they might perhaps have a good cause for some slight conceit?

Mr. Livesay, in this excellent account, has told us in a straightforward honest way all the essential story of those Last Hundred Days wherein the Canadian soldiers played their part in the tragic drama. He who reads the account, not only as a story of war but as a record of history, will be assured that the Canadians' part truly was a great share in the drama, truly was the part of one of the most effective fighting machines amongst the components of the British Army, and truly was a decisive factor in the operations which brought the war to a close on the eleventh of November.

The phrase "Last Hundred Days" has now come to mean only one thing. One wonders what the Germans have called, or will call, this period. Was it a hundred days to them too, or was it more? More likely it was a hundred nights! sleepless, filled with fighting, retiring, hurrying, despairing, shuddering. What the days were to the British and the Canadians, what the days brought and what they offered for rewards, were victory upon victory to the end.

Mr. Livesay takes us from those spring days, when in the silence from about Arras and Vimy we all wondered, "Whatever can the Canadians be doing?" through the crash of the successive battles of Amiens, Arras, and Cambrai, with the breaking of the Drocourt-Quéant Switch, through the Hindenburg line, on to the historic towns of Valenciennes and Mons. With the advantage of his close relationship to the Corps Headquarters and his access to information as a war correspondent, Mr. Livesay has been able to present much of the true inward-

ness of operations and opinions which are of great historic value as having been mostly written on the spot and at the time.

Pages descriptive of preparation are followed by pages of the battle itself in such detail as to be of real value to the historian; and then come incidents of the fighting which would appeal to the constituency of a war correspondent's cabled story. Following these come masterful presentations of the general situation from time to time with the atmosphere which surrounds the deliberations and the study and decisions of the higher commands. Not the least useful in the understanding of this remarkable campaign are the very good maps which show, not only the area of the fighting, but the fronts and advances of the respective divisions of the Canadian Corps as they fought and progressed from day to day.

Many passages, for their admirable description, are sure to be quoted in years to come. If space permitted, a choice might be presented; but with the dramatic closing days at Mons one cannot help drawing contrasts with the first weeks of the war wherein this became hallowed ground. It was an honour to the Canadians to permit them to retake Mons, but it was more than that; it was a necessity to ensure it:

The days that follow are a tumult of sensation and emotion. Reports come from Paris and London and our Canadian cities of joyous transports and feverish demonstration. Superficially these are signally lacking within the ranks of the Canadian Corps. . . . This may be puzzling but looking below the surface there are good reasons why the Canadian Corps received its crowning victory as soberly as it has its successes of the past. . . . First is the fact that it fought its way to the Armistice. Canadian soldiers died in their duty within a few hours of the cessation of hostilities. On the previous day they encountered opposition stiffer than any since the fall of Valenciennes But it was essential to secure so important a strategic and tactical point as Mons should the Armistice proposal fall through. Even on the Sunday few soldiers in the field believed in it and in the London Clubs they were betting odds against it.

C. H. MITCHELL.

Through the Hindenburg Line: The Crowning Days on the Western Front. By F. A. MCKENZIE. Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1919. Pp. viii, 429.

MR. MCKENZIE has been through the war with the Canadians from the early days. His name is well known from the Atlantic to the Pacific as one of the war correspondents who has contributed much to history by his timely and able writing. Now he has put a bit of it into a book with a blue cover—not that it is a blue book, far from it, for it is full of the bright colour of action and the crimson of war.

He starts just after the Somme in the autumn of 1916, and carries

the epic of the Canadians through Vimy, and Hill 70, and Passchendaele, and the winter of 1917-18, and then on to the tragic Hundred Days up to and through and beyond the Hindenburg Line. It is indeed fitting that this last episode should give the book its name, for after all the struggle throughout the two years of fighting was really to break the Hindenburg Line.

The book does not pretend to be a history, but neither is it a story; it is rather a series of stories and descriptions of how the Canadian soldiers lived and fought, of what they thought and dreamed, of their daily life, of day and night, sunshine and shadow, of château and dug-out, of front line and rest billets, of everything of war except "leave"—that's another story. The triumphs, the failures, the hardships, the joys and sorrows can be judged from the titles of certain of the chapters—"Winter Days at Vimy", "The Road to Ypres", "This Way to Hell". "Dead Man's Corner", "Tea in a Dugout", "Knobkerri", "The Way to Death", "What the Soldier Thinks".

One cannot help drawing attention to the chapter called "Currie". It is a word picture of Sir Arthur Currie such as those who were close to him, staff officer and soldier alike, can well appreciate:

Here is a man solely devoted to one end—victory. He is impatient of intrigues, of self-seeking, of notoriety-hunting. He is proud of and jealous for his men. . . . He regards his soldiers as human beings; he remembers the homes they have left.

C. H. MITCHELL

Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Forces of Canada, 1918. London: By authority of the Ministry, Overseas Military Forces of Canada. [1919.] Pp. xv, 533.

THE people of Canada have learned in various ways of the activities of their army at the front in France and in the various campaigns in which Canada's soldiers have participated. Most of this has been through the medium of the press and in various popular publications timely and readable because of the real war story woven into them. They have learned but little of the organization behind Canada's army nor of the many elements which went to make up the support which the country gave to its soldiers. Whilst the war was in progress, and perhaps too because of the press of work, it was not opportune to tell the people much of it in anything except some concise progress report.

Now, however, an elaborate volume is published by the Overseas Ministry of Militia itself, under a preface by the Overseas Minister, Sir Edward Kemp, which will form a most valuable authentic record for the future. The preface states that the report does not presume

to be an exhaustive account of all activities, but rather endeavours to make a general survey of the many matters which came under the Ministry, and in order to make it easier reading much of detail and technicality has been avoided.

The various operations by the Canadian Corps and other Canadian troops are described at length accompanied by useful maps and diagrams. Not the least valuable are the descriptions and diagrams of the organization of the various portions of the large military machine whereby the military administration was carried on in England and France. In addition to this many illustrations are included. The whole report by its comprehensive character will be found most useful to the historian and military student alike.

C. H. MITCHELL

War Story of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. By J. GEORGE ADAMI, M.D., F.R.S. (Temporary Colonel, C.A.M.C.). Volume 1: *The First Contingent (to the Autumn of 1915)*. Published for the Canadian War Records Office. London: The Rollo House Publishing Co. [1918.] Pp. x, 286.

Politics and the Canadian Army Medical Corps: A History of Intrigue, Containing Many Facts Omitted from the Official Records, Showing How Efforts at Rehabilitation were Baulked. By HERBERT A. BRUCE, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), Colonel British Army Medical Service and C.A.M.C. With introduction by HECTOR CHARLESWORTH. Toronto: Wm. Briggs. 1919. Pp. 321.

THESE two books are in a sense curiously complementary, and yet antithetical. The *War Story*, published for the Canadian War Records Office, is a sympathetic history of the growth of the Canadian Army Medical Corps before the war and its early war growth and development. The history is carried far enough back to show how well the foundations had been laid, its pliability and adaptability in the hard test of actual service in the second battle of Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, and the trench warfare of Ploegsteert. The Corps had necessarily been organized for field service, and in this particular fully vindicated its creation, development, and training. The book is written sympathetically by one who was for several years a member of the Corps, and though not a professional soldier, was in intimate contact with the Corps and its administration from within. Colonel Adami is very successful in giving to both layman and soldier a clear and simple picture of the development of the service, its plan of operation in the field and of the difficulties that were encountered. He shows how the adminis-

trative heads tried to choose from among those who responded to the first call for service the right men for the very various posts to be filled. That they were on the whole so successful in organizing an efficient field service speaks volumes for the capacity and powers of organization of the men who were senior members of the Permanent Canadian Army Medical Corps, and this in spite of the fact that most of the leading members of the medical profession in Canada felt that this poorly paid service was only a backwater in the great, ever developing river of the profession. We see clearly that the Corps had been developed for field service and that it was there successful; and just as clearly we see that the service in England was unforeseen and greatly handicapped in obtaining the men, means and organization necessary to carry on the work which devolved upon it. Its difficulties were also greatly increased by the anomalous position in which it found itself in relation to the British service, which was suffering from much the same faults of organization and policy. Not only in its early stages, but down to the last, round pegs were to be found in square holes. But it must be remembered that this was due as much to the fact that there will always be individuals who choose professions to which they are not suited, as to the weaknesses of such an organization as the C.A.M.C. Was it, for instance, entirely the fault of the service that prominent surgeons preferred to serve and die for their country in Field Ambulances where their peculiar gifts found little scope, or that a great hospital with excellent surgeons found itself in an area of war where fighting became stagnant but sickness abounded?

Colonel Adami is very happy in his descriptive touches of the places which formed the scene of the activities of the Canadians in France and England. How excellent his description of Étaples, Le Touquet, and Ploegsteert is can only be realized by those who saw them during the war.

It is to be regretted that this book, which will form a permanent addition to the public and private libraries of Canada, is poorly printed and bound and contains frequent typographical errors. In an official document such errors as the following should not have occurred: page 64, footnote, "Ingles" for "Ingles", the name of the well-known Chaplain of No. 1 General Hospital; page 101, lines 14 and 26, "east" for "west"; page 174, footnote, "Capt. F. A. Park" should read "Capt. F. S. Park", and, similarly, on page 269, "Capt. W. T. Bentley" should read "Capt. W. J. Bentley".

The book by Colonel Bruce is purely ephemeral, yet it is the better bound and printed of the two. It is unfortunately entirely polemical,

and deals altogether with an unfortunate incident in the history of the administration of the C.A.M.C. in England.

An eminent civilian surgeon suddenly advanced to high rank in the army and charged with an inquiry into a system of medical administration which too clearly revealed the want of co-ordination due on the one hand to the lack of foresight of the Minister of Militia and his Militia Council and of the War Office in Great Britain, and on the other to the tremendous strain on the military authorities of Great Britain, was certain to find much that was unfortunate and inefficient. Yet the book gives little credit to the efforts that had already been made from within the system to rectify the faults that had grown up. The "Bruce Report" produced the effect of an attack on individuals when it was intended doubtless to show the defects of a system. The report and the book unfortunately do not trace the development of the service in Great Britain and consequently the reader obtains no true picture of the difficulties already overcome and the efforts to improve the faults recognized in many cases to exist. The report helped, no doubt, to accelerate improvement and was of great advantage to the service. It may be pointed out that the charges of unfair dealing made by Colonel Bruce are laid against the Acting Minister of Militia and not against the Canadian Army Medical Corps or the Director of Medical Services. Indeed the Director of Medical Services at the time of the Bruce Report concurred in most of the findings of the report and had in some instances already endeavoured to rectify the faults pointed out. The lack of segregation of the Canadian wounded was clearly not his ideal but an expedient to which he had been forced by political considerations extraneous to the Corps.

It was perfectly obvious to all in 1916 that for the sake of efficiency it was high time that an officer who had seen service at the front in France and knew the requirements and standards of the force in the field and had been trained in and thoroughly knew the service in Canada should be recalled to the head of the administration in England. This was found necessary in the case of the combatant forces also. Colonel Bruce, however, adds to the suspicions of those who saw the service in England, that the administrative heads of the army services were not at all times helped, but rather hindered, in their endeavours to obtain greater efficiency, by political influences at Ottawa and those surrounding the Overseas Minister of Militia.

V. E. HENDERSON

Labour in the Changing World. By R. M. MACIVER. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 230.

THE student, and perhaps even more the general reader, is in danger of becoming bewildered by the number of books poured forth from the press on the subject of labour, the aims of labour, the status of labour, the future of labour. Some of these are good, some are bad, and a great number of them are indifferent; Mr. MacIver's contribution to the subject belongs most emphatically to the first category; it is distinctly good.

The industrial revolution, "which massed men and depersonalized industry", destroyed forever the craftsman, and set in his place the factory hand and the machine worker. That this has bettered the economic status of labour is now demonstrable, all the protests of the Marxians to the contrary; that it has limited and also debased its spiritual and even intellectual outlook is becoming increasingly apparent. Labour demands that no longer shall it be a commodity, economic goods for sale in the market, and that its remuneration shall no longer be reckoned as one of the costs of production. Labour demands that it shall stand side by side, on equal terms with capital, and receive its reward from the income derived from the products of industry, not as an advance paid before the productive process is completed. This involves a complete change in the concept of wages; in fact, it postulates the end of the wage system altogether, and the substitution of a system of complete copartnership between capital and labour.

Such is the first part of Mr. MacIver's thesis. It is, of course, no new idea; it is one already quite familiar to students of labour problems; but Mr. MacIver has restated it, as he has every right to do, in clear and striking language. It might be maintained that the moment of emergence of the remuneration of labour in the productive process is, in the last analysis, unimportant, since the measure of the remuneration, not its manner, is the crux of the question. For the mere refinements of economic theory the world has little patience, but this is no mere hair-splitting; the struggle of the future is not really on economic grounds at all; it is to be fought, is being fought now, on spiritual and ethical grounds. This Mr. MacIver points out very strikingly and clearly. The struggles of to-day are not generally for higher wages, but for the recognition of a principle, of Trade Unionism, and its status as copartner in industry with the entrepreneur.

We live in a changing world. "There can be no reconstruction worth the name unless we succeed in widening for all men, and especially the workers, the opportunity for living a reasonable life; unless we can

remove the insistent economic menaces that embitter and degrade the existence of multitudes, and unless we can also develop those wider interests, those cultural and spiritual interests, without which life is a mere scramble for material things." How shall these objects be attained? In the first place, by the establishment of specific minima and maxima to ensure a basic standard of well being, such as maximum hours of work, minimum wage rates, and regulation for the health and education of the people. Secondly, the worker must be made a partner in industry with capital, thus giving him security against unemployment, and against the consequences of unemployment when such is unavoidable, and lastly, security against arbitrary dismissal, unfair treatment and exploitation of any kind.

Such shall be the new charter, but the attainment of its objects must bring with it corresponding obligations. "These assurances cannot be attained, nor in any case would they suffice without a further provision of the first importance, viz., that the organizations of the workers where they exist, must be brought into direct relation to the management, being fully informed of the condition and progress of the industry in the particular workshop and in general, and that the workers, in so far as organized, be admitted to any council which has to do with determining the conditions of their work." And labour in its turn must give assurances that it will not, in pursuit of its own interests, disregard or break its obligations under law to the community at large. The anarchy of Winnipeg and Seattle should never have occurred, must not occur again.

That these are ideals worth striving for most, if not all, will agree. But it is the manner of attainment that provides the stumbling-block. Whitley Councils, Colorado Plan, Plumb Plan, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, which can it be? Mr. MacIver favours an adaptation of the Whitley Council, seeing in it a reasonable and practicable system of industrial control.

The whole theme is well and carefully worked out. Women's labour, immigration, the birth rate, trade unionism, all are dealt with in a manner adequate with the space at the author's disposal. Mr. MacIver is no alarmist; he is not one of Mr. Wells's "God-sakers". He is anxious for the future, but does not despair. But we do seem to have arrived at a definite crisis at the present moment; both capital and labour are fully alive to the fact; and clear thinking is absolutely necessary if we are to be saved from shipwreck.

Mr. MacIver writes in an easy and pleasant style, sometimes rising to eloquence. He is to be congratulated on a good piece of work.

H. MICHELL

The Employment Service of Canada. By BRYCE M. STEWART. (Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston.) July, 1919. Pp. 25.

MR. STEWART, as the official in the Dominion Department of Labour in charge of the working out and application of the new system of employment bureaus for the Dominion, has an important and interesting account to give of the inauguration of the scheme.

Employment bureaus under private management have always been unsatisfactory, and the outbreak of war found the Dominion faced with serious conditions of unemployment, with no machinery to cope with them. The various provinces tried to meet the need by setting up systems of employment agencies of their own, but the limitations of purely provincial and unrelated bureaus became early so apparent, that in 1918 the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act was passed by the Dominion parliament, giving to the Department of Labour in Ottawa the task of co-ordinating the various systems already in existence, of acting as an interprovincial clearing office, standardizing methods and collecting employment statistics. In March, 1919, the system was put in operation, and the results attained have been eminently, indeed surprisingly, satisfactory. During the first nine months of its working, from March to November, 1919, 220,000 placements were made, an average of over 6,000 a week.

Such a system of bureaus, useful as they undoubtedly are, does not solve, or indeed profess to solve, the whole problem of unemployment. Such has been already amply demonstrated by the record of the labour exchanges in England. In the present imperfect state of our industrial and financial organization, and in our seeming utter inability to control or even understand the nature of cyclical fluctuations of business activity and prosperity, or even to cope with the regularly recurring seasonal fluctuations, it is inevitable that unemployment must be a problem which will vex the world at longer or shorter intervals of time. In Canada these fluctuations tend to be even more accentuated than in European countries, owing to the ebb and flow of immigration with its effects on the labour force, and the marked contrasts of the Canadian seasons making seasonal fluctuations more severe in their incidence. Of these drawbacks to the perfect working of any system of labour exchanges Mr. Stewart is, of course, well aware. But while fully alive to the difficulties in the way, he is most optimistic for the scheme now in operation, and sees an important sphere of usefulness for it in the future. In this he is justified by the record of the first few months working, and in the excellence of the system devised.

Mr. Stewart's little monograph is indispensable to the student of the unemployment problem in Canada.

H. MICHELL

Production and Taxation in Canada, from the Farmers' Standpoint.
By W. C. GOOD. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. ix, 133.

THIS book is concerned with the "agricultural problem" of Canada, and more particularly of Ontario. It deserves a hearty welcome, as one of the very few books which have scientifically and comprehensively examined the condition of Canada's most important industry. No other book written on this subject contains so pithy and well-reasoned a statement of the economic position and needs of the Canadian farmer. The general impression which it gives is in the first place that Canadian agriculture is in financial straits and in danger of submergence. The chief cause, according to Mr. Good, of the depression of agriculture is economic. Farming does not pay. That is in the last resort why the youth of the country is forsaking it, why rural social institutions are decaying, why production from the farm is halting. "We cannot hope," he says, "to put agriculture on a stable basis until 'it pays'." The first consideration is not better science in agriculture, important as that is, but better business and better returns.

Our economic system discriminates against agriculture, and this is the point which the author seeks to drive home. The argument is directed particularly against the tariff, and secondly against speculation in land. Mr. Good makes a careful, moderate, and discriminating use of the available evidence to prove his case. It is not his fault that the evidence is very incomplete, but one cannot help feeling, in reading his book, the need for a far more adequate system of agricultural statistics. It is not very creditable that Canada cannot yet provide the most necessary data for the study of its greatest industry.

Mr. Good is a pessimist as regards the present and an optimist as regards the future. His remedy is simple. It consists in replacing the Federal tariff by a tax on land values. The tariff "protects" industry at the expense of agriculture, which has to compete in a world market. Land speculation enhances the cost of the land and reduces the farmers' profits. In fact the farmers' balance sheet shows all over not profit but loss, which means that the farmer receives a lower "wage income" than that which prevails in other industries. We cannot here enter into the details of the argument which Mr. Good offers. It is the work of a man who has been trained to think economically and

deserves the consideration of all who care to understand the growing farmers' movement throughout Canada. Mr. Good stresses the economic side, but he is at heart an idealist, and writes under a strong conviction of the national importance of the "revival of agriculture".

R. M. MACIVER

Wake up, Canada! Reflections on Vital National Issues. By C. W. PETERSON. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xiv, 365.

MR. PETERSON'S book is hardly a book at all; it is rather a half-dozen excellent introductions to an equal number of books. Probably Mr. Peterson would agree with this suggestion. He attempts to cover nationality, single-tax, government-ownership, socialism, agriculture, all between the two lids; and, of course, no sooner has the reader nicely engaged in one subject than he or she is switched on to the next. One should read *Wake Up, Canada!* in instalments, a chapter a night.

The author has had a varied personal experience from which to draw material. I understand he was born in Sweden; was Deputy Minister of Agriculture in the days of Haultain and Territorial government; was secretary of the Calgary Board of Trade and several other Western organizations. For a time he was engaged in the irrigation projects of the Canadian Pacific; and he is now both farmer and journalist. During the war he served in the Department of Fuel Control under Mr. Magrath. As Mr. Peterson confesses to having had a hand in manufacturing management, we may conclude that there are few channels of the country's industrial and political and social life into which he does not possess some insight. Unlike many other writers who essay to consider the vexed problems of economics, Mr. Peterson does not stumble because of environment; he has had so many environments that he may be said to possess none.

Canada is most suited to agriculture, "and yet we have set about to create in this fresh, new country the very conditions from which the European has fled in terror and disgust". That is one of the serious charges which Mr. Peterson makes. We have tried to relieve the stress of industrialism by limiting the hours of labour. As a consequence

The hod-carrier appears at his job at 8 a.m., and works until 5 p.m., with an hour off at noon. On Saturday he quits at noon and has a rest period until Monday morning. His home, however humble it may be, has the usual modern conveniences. He is able to associate with his fellows and enjoy all the attractions of the city, including the movies. His wages are generally adequate to the extent of enabling him to live and dress decently. His organization sees to that.

The farmhand rises from his slumbers at 5 a.m. and does his chores. He has his breakfast at 6.30. His team goes out to work at 7 a.m.; more chores at noon; steady

work until 6 p.m.: then supper and more chores. When the day ends he has probably worked from 14 to 16 hours. He frequently sleeps in a loft. He has very inadequate facilities for keeping himself clean and in a great many instances he lives in a mess that his city brother would not put up with for a minute. He tumbles to bed, dead tired, when the day's work is done. By comparison, it is the life of a serf. No recreation, no time for self-improvement, whilst his wages are probably much inferior to what the city labourer is able to command (p. 327).

The reader may conclude (if of the town) that the solution is very simple. The farm-hand must be given shorter hours, more comforts and, of course, more pay. That is being said every day. But, unfortunately, the trouble is not to be so easily settled. To quote Mr. Peterson again:

He [the farmer] must compete in the open markets of the world with farmers of other countries and climates—the black, the brown, the yellow, and the white races who have been working at high pressure for centuries and will probably go on doing so for many more generations. Take it one year with another, our farmer makes a fair living and nothing more.

These words contain the pith of Canada's economic problem. Any thesis written of Canada's Labour and Canada's Capitalism that does not lay its foundation upon the farmers' position, is certain to be wrong in its upper storeys. We cannot permanently have one rate of remuneration for country and another for town. The day will come when the labourer of the farm will demand:

First, equal wages with city labour and, secondly, a bonus to compensate him for his isolation and inferior living conditions. And when that time comes, what will the Canadian farmer do? In his present circumstances, he cannot meet those demands and live. He cannot pass the burden on to the consumer.

If the time does not come in which such a demand is made it will be because the "hired man" has completed his trek to the city. Canada will then have ceased to export the products of the farm out of which it must meet its foreign monetary obligations (half a million a day); Canada will be bankrupt. I am sorry Mr. Peterson did not develop this line of thought and tie into it the data furnished by Mr. Leach's dairy-farm surveys of Oxford and Dundas Counties. But, perhaps, they were not available when *Wake Up, Canada!* was in the making.

W. H. MOORE

Bridging the Chasm: A Study of the Ontario-Quebec Question. By PERCIVAL FELLMAN MORLEY. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 182.

MR. MORLEY's thesis is written around "Instructions 17" as prescribed

by the Ontario Department of Education for the regulation of English-French schools. In his opinion one cannot by any stretch of imagination look upon these instructions as anything but the beginning of the end of the French language in Ontario:

Coolly, and with all the deliberation and precision of officialdom, the regulation sounds, in fact, the death-knell of the French tongue in our province, and thus the language of the first settlers in this part of the country, and the language of our first schools, is classed with German, Portuguese, and Kurdish, as a "foreign" tongue and one that needs no longer look for a home on Ontario soil. Can one wonder that the regulation came as a bolt from the blue to our French neighbours?

"A Canadian of English-speaking parentage and Protestant upbringing", Mr. Morley thoroughly understands the public mind which imposed "Instructions 17" upon Ontario. Many English-Canadians do not know any French-Canadians. The two nationalities live (generally) in groups apart. The English-Canadian depends mainly upon the press and the politician for information about his compatriot. He has been told that the man of French tongue "is kept in something approaching a cave-man's state of enlightenment". And of course his guardians are the priests who are supposed to "conceal beneath a fair show of outward piety certain base designs of world conquest". English-Canadians have been taught to sense danger in the more rapid French-Canadian birthrate and more rapid settlement of the hinterland of the province.

It is asserted that the Quebec hierarchy aim by this means to get the upper hand in Ontario. Having at length achieved a French majority in this province, they would straightway deprive us of our schools, our libraries, and our churches, muzzle the press, introduce bilingual schools everywhere with the English language a disappearing quantity, tax Protestants to exhaustion to swell their own coffers, and perhaps reintroduce the rack, the dungeon, and the stake to bring all recalcitrants back safely within the fold.

Apparently Mr. Morley imbibed that idea in his early school days and later on absorbed it with his coffee and the Toronto papers at breakfast. Then he went among French-Canadians, and found them not at all as represented. He found their leaders "genial and kindly" and, knowing them, admired them; while the common run of French-Canadians was apparently not less intelligent than its counterpart of the English tongue.

Naturally, Mr. Morley felt himself charged with a mission. He set about throwing a right light upon the French so that those who knew them not might know and, knowing, rectify their injustice. In Mr.

Morley's opinion it is not a grievous fault for a state to possess two languages especially when those two happen to be English and French; it is an advantage which may be turned to substantial cultural and commercial account. Insisting upon the necessity of all acquiring English, he discusses the ways by which nearly all may acquire a conversational use of French.

Mr. Morley has written a good book. He succeeds admirably in the difficult art of delivering a sermon without preaching. He puts his material continually in interrogative form, and it is none the less effective. Step by step he leads his reader through this troubling controversy; and always so good-humouredly that none but the fractious would refuse to follow until the end. Upon the leave-taking, the reader is asked: "Will not Canada be the richer if the Laurentian Province" (and several of the other eight as well) "can resist, in a measure, the forces of continentalism, and build for itself a culture of its own, French-Canadian and yet, in the truest sense of the word, Canadian? Will not the historian of the future record as good whatever we may do to-day to encourage diversity of thought and ideals in our national life? Surely there is no better gospel than individualism, and none more in harmony with the spirit of the day."

W. H. MOORE

The Government of the British Empire. By EDWARD JENKS. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. n.d. Pp. viii, 403.

The Canadian Constitution and External Relations. By A. BERRIE DALE KEITH. (*The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, third series, vol. i, part i, pp. 7-24.)

The British Empire and a League of Peace Together with an Analysis of Federal Government: Its Function and Its Method. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. iii, 115.

The Future of Canada: Canadianism or Imperialism. By JOHN BOYD. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 106.

MR. JENKS in his latest book has attempted to provide the general reader and the young student with a handbook of the government of the British Empire. In no sense competing with the larger and more learned treatises, he has written a very valuable introductory work, and the fact that he has done so after a careful study of the sources makes it all the more useful for the class of readers for whom it is intended. For example, no one can read his pages on Ireland or on the Church—

where there was plenty of opportunity for failure—without being convinced of the judicial mind which is developed and cultivated by the method which Mr. Jenks has adopted and conscientiously followed.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. Out of four hundred odd pages barely sixty are given to the Empire beyond the Seas. That is to say barely a sixth is concerned with the five great sister nations of the Empire and with the other vast territories and peoples. The account, however, which Mr. Jenks has given of the government of the Empire outside the British Isles is an accurate piece of compression, and, as far as it goes, it will give those for whom he has written a good bird's eye view of the situation. There is a vital omission which may create false impressions. Mr. Jenks says little or nothing of the external relations of the five self-governing dominions, and his readers are thus left in almost blissful ignorance of a very important and, from the point of view of political thought, very tantalizing problem. He says nothing of the Imperial War Cabinet and of the political causes out of which it grew, nor does he seem to be acquainted with section nine of the resolutions agreed to by the Imperial War Conference of 1917, in which foreign affairs and foreign relations are placed on a new basis. This matter of foreign affairs is one which has reached a position of distinct development and even a book such as Mr. Jenks has written cannot afford such an important and vital omission, as silence in connection with it means not only error in historical perspective but error in historical insight.

With these limitations, however, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Jenks' book is perhaps the best available of its kind. It is accurate, judicial, and scholarly. We might hope, now that Mr. Jenks has carried out such patient work in study and research, that he would give us a full and complete work on the government of the Empire—a work made all the more necessary by the changes due to the war.

Professor Keith's latest contribution to Imperial history is, as usual, sane, balanced, moderate, and full of insight. In bringing, as it were, his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* up to date, he reviews the development of Canadian autonomy under the heading of the Growth of Canadian Independence, the Territorial Limitation of Dominion Legislation, the Appeal to the Privy Council, Titles of Honour, Foreign Relations, Representation at International Conferences, International Status, Diplomatic Representation and Declaration of War. He believes that the time is ripe for the complete removal of territorial restriction in the case of merchant shipping, for the abrogation of the supremacy of Imperial legislation, in order that equality of status may be made a reality; for some arrangement apart from judicial interpretation by which Canada can alter her constitution; and for the abolition of the

royal veto over Dominion legislation. He sees in the near future a complete disappearance of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the more intricate paths of diplomatic representation, foreign affairs, and declaration of war, Professor Keith is calm. Interpreting Canadian self-consciousness—a difficult thing to grasp in a vast federal territory—he sees clearly that Canada must achieve international status and separate diplomatic representation abroad and receive foreign diplomatic representatives. Meanwhile in connection with the declaration of war, he is confident that Canada must have an effective voice.

The article is valuable not only for its balanced outlook, which surveys issues practically assured by causes now at work, but for its silent challenge to Canada to develop within herself a wider and more profound type of political thinking.

The first part of Professor Adams's little book is a noble plea for peace by a practical idealist. Impatient of elaborate definitions, of complicated treaties, of interminable "provided-that's" and "in-the-event-of's", he would approach his ideal from the known, from the experienced, and would brush aside *doctrinaire* treatises and constitutions. His scheme is the union of the Anglo-Saxon nations. This union is not to be based on what will happen, given certain conditions, but on a positive thing—arbitration instead of war. As a preliminary he sees the necessity for the complete recognition of those things which Professor Keith foretells as inevitable in the British Commonwealth: the equality of the nations within it given concrete expression by the continuance of the Imperial War Cabinet. As a citizen of the United States he appreciates such a development, with its approximation to the type of the United States Executive, but he is at pains to point out that such an executive is really responsible in the best sense to the people, in that it responds, quite apart from congresses or parliaments, to public opinion, which indeed is the only real responsibility residing in popular assemblies nowadays. With such an executive recognized in the British Commonwealth, he feels not only that its members would feel and act on this real popular control, but, as a corporate body, would give such an example of a practical and powerful organization among six nations for peace that there ought to be no difficulty in the United States becoming a partner. Doubtless, as he points out, Imperial tendencies and economic exploitations would need to disappear before other nations, less allied in traditions and common heritages, would seek admission. He believes, however, that here is ready at hand a practical scheme, which avoids the devious ways of elaboration and does not forget the weaknesses of human nature—things which he believes make the Covenant of the League of

Nations almost stillborn—for the simple reason that it is merely the giving of a constitutional frame to what already exists in the British Empire, and offering a place later to the United States. Professor Adams thus brings forward a proposal which, if its complete realization is problematical, depending as it would on the United States, yet is a distinct challenge from a scholarly and independent critic to the British Commonwealth to accept the logic of realities and thus incidentally to create a bulwark against the disintegrating and destructive forces of war.

The second part of Professor Adams's little book, if not of such vital interest, is important and suggestive. It is an analysis of federal government much more intimate than Professor Dicey's. Not an end in itself but as a means towards national unity, Professor Adams sketches with careful pencil the outlines of the great federal constitutions of the world, and in passing he gives an appreciation of the Canadian federal system which is so accurate that we welcome the widening study in the United States which makes it possible. Emphasis is laid on the flexibility and adaptability of the federal form of government, and on the free opportunities given by it to the natural forces of union in a state to do their work. From the first consideration, Professor Adams sees opportunities for the application of the principle not merely to form new states, but more important still in reconstructing old states—for example, the British Isles. Here he is sympathetic. Nor is he without hope that its application might be worked out in the Balkans and in the Austrian Empire. From the second consideration, he sees the best means to allay internal irritations in any state. Federalism may mean a division of power, of functions, of areas, but it has proved itself, in the United States and in Canada, the means for national unity in those spheres where national unity is in reality tested.

Mr. Boyd, in an address delivered before the Montreal Reform Club on May 4, 1918, and now published in pamphlet form, reviews the relationship between Canada and Great Britain. He is entirely impatient of any form of Imperialism—from the elaborate scheme of Mr. Lionel Curtis, who by the way is not the official spokesman of the Round Table, down to the conception outlined by Professor Adams and growing out of the Imperial War Cabinet. Mr. Boyd's suspicions of all Imperialism are so great that he believes that Canada ought to reach forward to becoming "a great sovereign state with a flag and a national status of its own" (p. 73). This is her better ambition, otherwise annexation to the United States will become her destiny by the force of circumstances (*ib.*). Of course this new sovereign Canada is to be bound in "a lasting alliance of amity and goodwill not only with Great Britain,

France, and the United States but with all the free democratic nations of the earth" (*ib.*). The author does not tell us how this endurance is to be obtained, and it may be suggested that it might be possible to obtain it first within the Empire. Mr. Boyd's scheme of alliances is merely a League of Nations project. The project we have, since the Peace Treaty, in a manner within the British Commonwealth. Might it not be possible to solve it there? Are nationality and internationalism incompatible? Are Canadianism, in the very fullest sense of the word, and "Commonwealthism" incompatible? The world has been moving with tragic velocity since Mr. Boyd spoke, and the dizziness seems to tell us that we must grasp something more secure for the future than the overdevelopment of self-determination.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917.

Edited by ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. Two volumes. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xvi, 381; vii, 424.

THESE two small volumes, printed on thin paper, are intended to be sold cheaply and are evidence of the wide interest in the growth of self-government in the various states of the British Commonwealth. Dr. Keith, who speaks with authority on such questions, furnishes an introduction of only a few pages and leaves the documents to speak for themselves without any notes. These would have been useful, but each section is in fact sufficiently self-explanatory. Of the nine sections covering the whole field of colonial relations, three deal with Canada, two with Australia, and one with South Africa, while the remaining three deal with problems common to all, autonomy in internal affairs, relations with foreign powers, and imperial unity. Under the last section we have, of course, the growth of the Imperial Conference and the plans for common defence. The last document relates to things so recent as the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference in 1917. With a text-book at hand giving the historical setting of the documents students in the universities having these volumes would be admirably equipped for understanding the modern evolution of the British Empire. There are no documents relating to the American revolution. A few extracts from George III and Lord North would have furnished a telling contrast between the spirit which ruined the first British Empire and the spirit which has created the second.

On Canada the extracts are necessarily brief compared with those in the volumes of Professor Kennedy and Messrs Egerton and Grant. Section i, "The Origin of Representative Government in Canada",

covers the period from the Proclamation of 1763 to the Constitutional Act of 1791. Section ii, "The Deadlock in Canada and the Grant of Responsible Government", begins with Lord Durham's Report and ends with Lord Elgin's course in the crisis of 1849 when the parliament buildings were burned in Montreal. Section iv, "The Federation of Canada", has only Macdonald's speech in the Canadian parliament to give it value. We see that times have changed when we read in Section vii the correspondence in 1859 between the Colonial Office and Canada in regard to the recent raising of the rate of duty. There is nothing new in the documents; but the tone of the Colonial Office is amusing in its paternalism. The Duke of Newcastle solemnly regrets that England's blissful experiences after adopting Free Trade should be lost sight of in Canada. He practically endorses a protest from Sheffield against permitting Canada to put on duties. "It cannot be regarded as less than indecent," say these fine imperialists of Sheffield, that while the wise people of England have turned to Free Trade, Canada should be "advocating monopoly and protection". To their horror they find that through this stimulus "extensive and numerous hardware manufactories have sprung up both in Canada East and West", and that more are likely to follow. They insist that the Imperial government has the right to demand that this sort of thing shall stop and that Canada shall be required to raise her revenues in some way that will not hurt the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. There is a beautiful simplicity in the outlook of Sheffield, and it was met in Canada by Mr. Galt's blunt response that Canada intended to raise her revenues in her own way and not to meet the wishes "of a provincial town in England professedly actuated by selfish motives". There is, as we can see, abundant heat in tariffs.

The later contents of the second volume show a steady broadening of the problems of the Empire. In 1879 there is the question of the position of a High Commissioner for Canada in London. Then comes that of the right of the Dominions to negotiate with foreign powers in respect to commercial treaties. Lastly, we have internal problems, Imperial Federation, above all naval defence. The culmination of everything is in the Great War, and Dr. Keith gives as the note for the whole British Commonwealth the noble speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons of Canada on August 19, 1914. The Imperial War Cabinet sat first in 1917, and the volumes close with the speeches in the concurrent Imperial War Conference on the new relations among the states of the British Commonwealth created by the war.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review subsequently.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON. *The British Empire and a League of Peace*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. iii, 115.

Reviewed on page 107.

AGLIONBY, the late Major A. H. *The Future of Imperial Relations* (United Empire, n.s., vol. x, no. 5, pp. 227-232).

An essay found in the papers of a British officer, who was when the war broke out a schoolmaster in Canada, and who was killed in Belgium four days before the armistice of November 11, 1919.

BOYD, JOHN. *The Future of Canada: Canadianism or Imperialism*. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 106.

Reviewed on page 107.

COURTNEY, W. L. & J. E. *Pillars of Empire: Studies and Impressions*. Drawings by Clive Gardiner. London: Jarrolds, Limited. [1919.] Pp. 331.

A series of sketches of some of the chief builders of the British Empire. In the section devoted to Canada, there are chapters on Lord Dorchester, Lord Durham, Sir John Macdonald, Lord Strathcona, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Sir Robert Borden. The volume contains an index.

DARBY, ARTHUR E. *Federation or Empire* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 1, pp. 11-15).

A plea for the settlement of the question of imperial relations by popular vote in each part of the Empire.

HARVEY, J. G. *Our Future in the British Empire* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 2, pp. 137-145).

A criticism of Mr. J. W. Dafoe's paper on "Our Future in the Empire: Alliance under the Crown", published in the collection of essays entitled *The New Era in Canada*, edited by J. O. Miller (Toronto, 1917).

JENKS, EDWARD. *The Government of the British Empire*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. [n.d.] Pp. viii, 403.

Reviewed on page 107.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *The Canadian Constitution and External Relations* (The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, 3rd series, vol. i, part i, pp. 7-24).

Reviewed on page 107.

——— (ed.). *Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917*. Two vols. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xvi, 381; vii, 424.

Reviewed on page 111.

LANG, WILLIAM. *The Imperial Position in 1919* (United Empire, n.s. vol. x, no. 8, pp. 372-376).

An able resumé of the imperial question at the end of the war.

MILNER, Viscount. *The British League of Nations* (United Empire, n.s. vol. x, no. 5, pp. 223-225).

A speech delivered before the Manchester branch of the Royal Colonial Institute on April 10, 1919.

WADE, The Hon. F. C. *High Commissioners and Agents-General* (The Empire Review, vol. xxxiii, no. 226, pp. 359-367).

A sketch of the history of the official agencies of the Dominion of Canada and the Canadian provinces in London, culminating in a plea for the recognition of the provincial agents-general by the British government.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

DE CELLES, ALFRED D. *Les Constitutions du Canada*. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1918. Pp. 76.

A brief sketch of Canadian constitutional history.

HASSARD, A. R. *Great Canadian Orators* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 4, pp. 263-269; no. 5, pp. 423-430; no. 6, pp. 455-463; vol. liv, no. 2, pp. 180-184).

Biographical sketches of D'Arcy McGee, Joseph Howe, Nicholas Flood Davin, Louis Joseph Papineau, and the Rev. Dr. George Douglas.

HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE GENERAL STAFF (ed.) *A History of the Organization, Development, and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada, from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time*. With Illustrative Documents. Volume I: *The Local Forces of New France; the Militia of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1775*. [n.d.] Pp. 148.

To be reviewed later.

WOOD, WILLIAM. *Flag and Fleet: How the British Navy Won the Freedom of the Seas*. With a preface by Admiral-of-the-Fleet Sir David Beatty. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919.

An admirable little book, published under the auspices of the Navy League of Canada, and "written for the reading of Canadian boys and girls". While it does not relate to Canada except incidentally, it deals with a factor in Canadian history often too little emphasized.

(2) The History of New France

BROWN, STUART. *Old Kaskaskia Days and Ways* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 61-73).

A brief sketch of the history of Old Kaskaskia in the Illinois country.

CARON, L'abbé IVANHOE. *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (Le Canada Français, vol. ii, no. 3, pp. 170-182).

A paper written to controvert some of the conclusions of M. de Trémaudan (q.v.) with regard to the La Vérendrye sons. The abbé Caron believes that "le chevalier" was not the third son, François, but the youngest son, Louis-Joseph.

DE TRÉMAUDAN, A. H. *A propos des frères la Vérendrye* (Le Canada Français, vol. ii, no. 2, pp. 109-117).

A paper written to combat certain errors commonly made by historians regarding the sons of La Vérendrye. M. de Trémaudan maintains that the most famous of the sons of the discoverer, the son known as "le chevalier", is not, as has been commonly supposed, the eldest son, Pierre, but the third son François; that

the journeys of 1738-1739 and of 1842-1843 were made not by Pierre and François, but by François and Louis; and that only the journey of 1741, the least important of the three, was made by Pierre.

——— *Le Chevalier de la Vérendrye* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 286-293).

A reply to the article by the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron on *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (q.v.).

FOSSUM, ANDREW. *The Norse Discovery of America*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1918. Pp. 160.

Reviewed on page 61.

GIRAULT, ARTHUR. *The Colonial Tariff Policy of France*. Edited by Charles Gide. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History.) Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 305.

To be reviewed later.

GROULX, L'ABBÉ LIONEL. *Le peuplement de la Nouvelle-France* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Août, 1919, pp. 145-149).

An essay devoted to the explanation of the meagreness of French immigration to New France.

LOCKE, GEORGE H. *When Canada was New France*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 154.

A little book of a dozen chapters which aims at giving, without any organic connection of narrative, some of the interesting episodes in the history of New France, for the use of those young either in years or in spirit.

LONN, ELLA. *The French Council of Commerce in relation to American Trade* (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. vi, no. 2, pp. 192-219).

"A study of the council of commerce of France in relation to the problems of American trade from the time of its organization in 1700 until 1734." To be reviewed later.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Nicolas de Mouchy, Notaire royal à Montréal* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 3, pp. 83-89).

New details concerning the life and notarial acts of Nicolas de Mouchy, who was royal notary at Montreal from 1664 to 1669.

——— *L'inventaire des biens de Lambert Closse* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 1, pp. 16-31).

A hitherto unpublished document. Lambert Closse was one of the early soldier-colonists of Montreal, and the inventory of his goods, which is dated 1662, throws light not only on the personality of Lambert Closse himself, but also on the social history of New France in the seventeenth century.

MCLENNAN, J. S. *Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758*. London: Macmillan and Co. 1918. Pp. xi, 454.

Reviewed on pages 65-68.

PRUD'HOMME, L.-A. *Autour du fort Saint-Charles* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 278-283).

A short paper correcting a misstatement by the Abbé Caron in his article on *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (q.v.), with regard to the question as to where the credit lies for discovering the remains of Father Aulneau and Jean-Baptiste La Vérendrye in 1908.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *La Seigneurie de Cap Saint-Claude on Vincennes*. Lévis. 1919. Pp. 46.

Reviewed on page 63.

- *Le Chevalier de la Vérendrye* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 294-295).
A brief communication in which M. Roy supports the contention of the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, in his paper on *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (q.v.), that the son of La Vérendrye who was known as "le chevalier" was Louis-Joseph.
- *Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de l'Indiana, et Sa Famille*. Québec: Charrier and Dugal. 1919. Pp. xv, 365.
Reviewed on page 63.
- *Les ordonnances des six premiers intendants de la Nouvelle-France* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 6, pp. 161-174; no. 7, pp. 193-205).
A valuable calendar of the ordinances of the intendants of New France from 1665 to 1705, so far as they are known. In the provincial archives of Quebec, the ordinances of the intendants after 1705 are preserved almost complete; but the earlier ordinances would seem to have been destroyed. M. Roy, however, has been able to make up, from a variety of sources, what is at any rate a partial list.
- *Un mémoire de M. de Bourlamaque sur le Canada* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 9, pp. 257-276; no. 10, pp. 289-305).
A report on Canada, hitherto unpublished, which was submitted to the French government by Bourlamaque in 1762; now edited by M. Roy from the copy in the provincial archives of Quebec.
- ROY, RÉGIS. *Les Compagnons de Cartier* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 5, pp. 155-157).
Some criticisms in detail of the late Dr. Dionne's book on Jacques Cartier, with especial reference to the names and identity of the crews Cartier brought with him on his second voyage.
- SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Au Nipigon, 1727* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 133-138).
A chapter in the history of the fur trade.
- *Le Pays des Fourrures* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 23-30).
A valuable study of the conditions prevailing in the western fur trade in Canada subsequent to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Unfortunately, there is in the paper no attempt to indicate sources or authorities.
- *Les Bourguignons en Canada* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxiv, pp. 438-44).
A paper estimating the contribution made by Burgundy to the origins of the French-Canadian race.
- *Mélanges Historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites*. Vols. II, III, and IV. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 148; 156; 103.
Reviewed on pages 62 and 83.
- THOMPSON, JOSEPH J. *The French in Illinois* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 4-45).
An account, with illustrations, of French exploration and settlement in the Illinois country.
- (3) The History of British North America to 1867**
- AUDET, FRANCIS J. *L'Année de la grande noirceur* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 5, pp. 296-299).
An account of atmospheric disturbances, the "dark days", of October, 1785.
- BIXBY, GEORGE S. *Peter Saily (1754-1826), a Pioneer of the Champlain Valley*. With extracts from his diary and letters. (New York State Library: History Bulletin 12.) Albany: University of the State of New York. 1919. Pp. 94.

To be reviewed later.

- BURFEE, L. J. *A Forgotten Adventurer of the Fur Trade* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 363-380).

A sketch of the life of Donald McKenzie, brother of Roderick McKenzie, and cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

- CAMERON, Sheriff D. M. *The Fourth Middlesex Militia Regiment* (Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part x, 1919, pp. 16-24).

Some notes on the history of the regiment of Middlesex Militia, from its embodiment in 1793 to 1830.

- DAVIDSON, GORDON CHARLES. *The North West Company*. (University of California Publications in History, vol. vii.) Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xi, 349.

Reviewed on pages 71-74.

- DE LA BRUÈRE, M. B. *Le Duc de Kent: A quelle date faut-il assigner son départ définitif du Canada?* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 12, pp. 367-376).

Correspondence between the Duke of Kent and General Prescott in 1798-1799, which settles the exact date of the Duke's departure from Halifax in the autumn of 1798.

- GORMAN, Major HENRY. *The 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment* (Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part x, 1919, pp. 5-15).

A short account of "the raising in the old provinces of Canada of the first regiment of Canadians for foreign service in the British army".

- HALLAM, Mrs. W. T. *Slave Days in Canada*. Reprinted from The Canadian Churchman. Toronto. [1919.] Pp. 15.

A sketch of the history of negro slavery in Canada.

- LONDON, F. *The Fugitive Slave in Canada* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 2, pp. 270-279).

An interesting account of the part played by Canada in the abolition of negro slavery in North America.

- LEA, ALICE (ed.). *Some Unpublished Letters of Sir John Franklin, Sir John Richardson, and Others* (Annual Report and Transaction No. 17 of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, 1917-1918, pp. 12-36).

Some letters written by Franklin, Richardson, and Dease to Robert McVicar, a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, during their exploring expeditions to the far North-West in 1819-1822 and 1825-1827.

- MERENESS, NEWTON D. (ed.). *Travels in the American Colonies*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. 694.

Reviewed on page 69.

- MORISON, J. L. *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854*. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1919. Pp. xi, 369.

Reviewed on pages 77-80.

- PIUZE, J.-R. *Récit des aventures de Liveright Puize, médecin, écrit par lui-même, et traduit par J. R. Puize* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 11, pp. 332-366).

Translation of the autobiography of a Polish physician who served with the American army in the War of the Revolution, was afterwards kidnapped by Indians, was handed over to the English commandant at Niagara, and ultimately settled down as a licensed surgeon and apothecary at River Ouelle, where he died in 1813.

- WALLACE, W. STEWART. *The First Canadian Agent in London* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lii, no. 6, 1037-1040).

An account, based on research, of Fowler Walker, the London agent of the English mercantile element in Canada from 1765 to 1770 *circa*.

— (ed.). *The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768*. With an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 135.

Reviewed on page 69.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

AUCLAIR, L'abbé ELIE-J. *Les fêtes du monument Cartier à Montreal* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxiv, pp. 241-263).

An account of the proceedings at the unveiling of the monument to Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier in Montreal in September, 1919.

— *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxiii, pp. 161-175).

An obituary notice.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *A Successful Experiment in International Relations*. (An Address delivered before the Victorian Club of Boston on February 17th, 1919.) Ottawa: the King's Printer. 1919. Pp. 13.

An account of the origin and history of the International Joint Commission between Canada and the United States.

CAMERON, A. KIRK. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 420-431).

An obituary notice.

DAVID, L.-O. *Laurier: sa vie, ses oeuvres*. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 268.

Reviewed on page 85.

HAWKES, ARTHUR. *The Birthright: A Search for the Canadian Canadian and the Larger Loyalty*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. [1919.] Pp. xx, 380.

To be reviewed later.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1918*. Illustrated. Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review, Limited. 1919. Pp. 879.

The sixteenth issue of this very useful review of current Canadian history. In addition to purely Canadian affairs, the *Review* deals with "The Last Stages of the World War", "The British Empire in the War", "The United States and the War", and "Socialism and the Labour Problem".

LEMIEUX, RODOLPHE. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, May, 1919, pp. 3-10).

An obituary article by one of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's former colleagues.

MCARTHUR, PETER. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 184.

Reviewed on page 85.

MACPHAIL, SIR ANDREW. *The Conservative* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 4, pp. 419-444).

A disquisition on Canadian political tendencies which culminates in a plea for a coalition between Sir Robert Borden and Sir Lomer Gouin.

— *Article Nineteen* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 3, pp. 311-326).

A proposal that Canada should take advantage of Article Nineteen of the League of Nations Covenant, to have the question of the Maine boundary line between Canada and the United States re-opened.

MORLEY, PERCIVAL FELLMAN. *Bridging the Chasm: A Study of the Ontario-Quebec Question*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 182.

Reviewed on page 105.

MOSHER, AUSTIN. *Quebec in our First Parliament* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 4, pp. 312-314).

A description of the Quebec members in the first parliament of Canada after Confederation, "the ablest body of legislators ever sent to Ottawa from French Canada".

MURRAY, GIDEON. *Canada and the British West Indies* (United Empire, n.s., vol. x, no. 2, pp. 54-58).

An account of the obstacles in the way of the political union of Canada and the British West Indies.

PETERSON, C. W. *Wake Up, Canada! Reflections on Vital National Issues*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xiv, 365.

Reviewed on page 104.

WILLISON, SIR JOHN. *Reminiscences, Political and Personal*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 358.

Reviewed on page 87.

(5) The History of the Great War

ADAMI, J. GEORGE. *War Story of the Canadian Army Medical Corps*. Vol. I: *The First Contingent (to the Autumn of 1915)*. Published for the Canadian War Records Office. London: The Rolls House Publishing Co. [1918.] Pp. x, 286.

Reviewed on page 97.

BALDWIN, Sergeant HAROLD. "*Holding the Line*". With Illustrations and Diagrams. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co. 1918.

The story of the First Canadian Contingent, at Valcartier, at Salisbury Plains, and at the Second Battle of Ypres.

BRUCE, HERBERT A. *Politics and the Canadian Army Medical Corps*. Toronto: Wm. Briggs. 1919. Pp. 321.

Reviewed on page 97.

CORNELOUP, CLAUDIUS. *L'Épopée du Vingt-Deuxième*. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 150.

An illustrated history of the famous 22nd French-Canadian battalion, from its formation to the autumn of 1918, by the battalion sergeant-major.

COSGRAVE, Lt.-Col. L. MOORE. *Afterthoughts of Armageddon*. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. [n.d.] Pp. 35.

A retrospect, by an officer who fought throughout the war.

DAFOE, J. W. *Over the Canadian Battlefields*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. 89.

A series of articles by the official representative of the Canadian Press at the Paris Peace Conference, describing a visit to the battlefields of northern France in the early spring of 1919.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *Canada at War: A Record of Heroism and Achievement, 1914-1918*. Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review, Ltd. 1919. Pp. viii, 448.

Reviewed on page 89.

LIVESAY, J. F. B. *Canada's Hundred Days: With the Canadian Corps from Amiens to Mons, Aug. 8-Nov. 11, 1918*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. 421.

Reviewed on page 94.

MCKENZIE, F. A. *Through the Hindenburg Line: The Crowning Days on the Western Front*. Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1919. Pp. viii, 429.

Reviewed on page 95.

NASMITH, Colonel GEORGE G. *Canada's Sons and Great Britain in the World War*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. xx, 606.

Reviewed on page 89.

OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES OF CANADA. *Report of the Ministry, 1918*. London [1919.] Pp. xv, 533.

Reviewed on page 96.

PEAT, HAROLD R. *Private Peat*. With Maps and Illustrations. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. [n.d.] Pp. 235.

The story of the First Canadian Contingent, up to the end of the Second Battle of Ypres, told vivaciously from the point of view of a private soldier.

RAY, ANNA CHAPIN (ed.). *Letters of a Canadian Stretcher-Bearer*, by R. A. L. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. vii, 288.

The letters of a battalion stretcher-bearer, describing the Canadian operations at Vimy Ridge and Lens in 1917.

RINFRET, FERNAND. *Un Voyage en Angleterre et au Front Français*. Articles publiés dans "Le Canada", September 1918. Pp. 93.

Reprint of a series of articles written by a French-Canadian journalist while on the officially conducted tour of Canadian newspapermen to the front in 1918.

[ROBERTS, Capt. THEODORE G., and others.] *Thirty Canadian V.C.'s, 23rd April 1915 to 30th March 1918*. Compiled by the Canadian War Records Office. London: Skeffington and Son. [n.d.]

Narratives describing, from official sources, how the Canadian Victoria Crosses were won.

SULLIVAN, ALAN (ed.). *Aviation in Canada, 1917-1918: Being a brief account of the work of the Royal Air Force, Canada, the Aviation Department of the Imperial Munitions Board and the Canadian Aeroplanes Limited*. Toronto: Rous and Mann. [1919.] Pp. 318.

To be reviewed later.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Labrador and the Maritime Provinces

GRENFELL, WILFRED THOMASON. *A Labrador Doctor: An Autobiography*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. 442.

To be reviewed later.

EATON, A. W. H. *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*. No. XIV: *Halifax Harbour and Its Famous Traditions*. (Americana, vol. xiii, no. 3, pp. 253-274).

Continuation of Dr. Eaton's history of Halifax.

LOGAN, J. D. *A Political Bayard* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 4, pp. 336-341).

An account of the life of the Hon. G. H. Murray, prime minister of Nova Scotia.

COUILLARD-DESPRÉS, L'abbé A. *Observations sur L'Histoire de l'Acadie Française de M. Moreau, Paris 1873*. Montréal. 1919. Pp. 149.

To be reviewed later.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BOUFFARD, JEAN. *La frontière entre la province de Québec et la colonie de l'Île Terre-neuve, sur la côte du Labrador* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 7-10).

A brief sketch over the disputes between Quebec and Newfoundland over the Labrador boundary.

— *Origine de la propriété privée dans la province de Québec* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 1, pp. 26-37; no. 2, pp. 93-99).

A study of the granting of land in the province of Quebec down to the abolition of the seigniorial tenure in 1854.

MAGNAN, HORMISDAS. *Les drapeaux arborés dans la province de Québec, armes et emblèmes* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 5, pp. 129-149).

An account of the origin of the various flags which have been hoisted, either

officially or unofficially, in the province of Quebec from the beginning of the French period.

——— *Notes historiques sur le Nord de la province de Québec, la Baie d'Hudson, l'Ungava* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 4, pp. 105-119).

A summary of explorations in "New Quebec".

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les incendies à Montréal sous le régime français* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 7, pp. 215-218).

List of the fires which are known to have ravaged Montréal in the French period.

MAURALT, OLIVIER. *Dollier de Casson* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, February, 1919, pp. 361-370).

An account of the life of the Sulpician priest who was the first civil engineer and the first architect in Montréal.

MERCIER, PAUL-E. *Le Nouveau Québec* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Août, 1919, pp. 150-159).

A description of the new territory acquired in 1912 by the province of Quebec, in the northern part of the Labrador peninsula.

RIVARD, ADJUTOR. *Chez nos Gens*. Québec: Action Sociale Catholique. 1918. Pp. 136. Sketches of French-Canadian life.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BRAY, REGINALD V. *The Medical Profession of the City of Chatham and County of Kent: A History* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Addresses, vol. 4, pp. 5-12).

A record of those who have practised medicine in the County of Kent.

CARNOCHAN, JANET (ed.). *Niagara Historical Society: No. 31*. Niagara. [n.d.]. Pp. 48.

Contains some hitherto unpublished letters of 1812, contributed by General Cruikshank, a note on Brock's monument by the Editor, an account of the Irish emigrants in Niagara in 1847, some United Empire Loyalist claims, and some inscriptions from graves in the Niagara district.

COSTAIN, T. B. *The Farmer in Politics* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 4, pp. 454-458).

An estimate of the political significance of "the dramatic seizure of power in Ontario by the farmers".

DENISON, Colonel GEORGE T. *Recollections of a Police Magistrate* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 3, pp. 177-186).

Beginning of a series of reminiscences by the senior police magistrate of Toronto.

FRASER, ALEXANDER. *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*. Toronto: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. vi, 478.

Reviewed on pages 74-77.

HERRINGTON, WALTER S. (ed.). *The Newspapers of the County: A Historical Survey of the Newspapers of Lennox and Addington presented in the form of extracts from the old files*. (Lennox and Addington Historical Society: Papers and Records: vol. x.) Napanee, Ontario: published by the Society. 1919. Pp. 62.

A history of the newspapers of Lennox and Addington, illustrated by extracts mainly relating to "the separation of the County".

HICKS, A. A. *Growth of Methodism in Chatham and Vicinity* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. x, 1919, pp. 34-39).

A few notes on Methodist church history in Canada.

HILL, HAMNETT P. *Robert Randall and the Le Breton Flats: An account of the early legal and political controversies respecting a large portion of the present city of Ottawa*.

Ottawa: James Hope and Sons. [1919.] Pp. 62.

Reviewed on page 82.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter. 1919. Pp. vii, 126.

An illustrated account of the history of the province of Ontario during the period of the war, compiled by the editor of *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*.

LONDON, FRED. *Fugitive Slaves in London before 1860* (Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part x, 1919, pp. 25-38).

Notes on the history of the negro community in London, Ontario, before the outbreak of the American Civil War.

MCKEOUGH, GEORGE T. *The Early Indian Occupation of Kent* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Addresses, vol. 4, 1919, pp. 13-27).

Notes on the Huron and Neutral Indians in the County of Kent.

RIDDELL, W. R. *The Slave in Upper Canada* (The Journal of Negro History, vol. iv, no. 4, pp. 372-411).

An account, based on original research, and fully documented, of the history of slavery in Upper Canada. Appended to the paper is a collection of documents, taken from the Canadian Archives.

SEXSMITH, W. N. *Some Notes on the Buxton Settlement, Raleigh, Kent County* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. x, 1919, pp. 40-44).

An account of a settlement for negro refugees founded in 1849 in the County of Kent.

SISSONS, C. B. *A Housing Policy for Ontario* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 3, pp. 241-248).

A brief account of the work done in Ontario under the Housing Accommodation Act of 1913 and the Dwellings Act of 1919.

WILLIAMS, DAVID. *The Indians of the County of Simcoe* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 3, pp. 204-210).

An historical sketch.

(4) The Western Provinces

ELLIOTT, T. C. *David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country* (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. x, no. 1, pp. 17-20).

A brief note, to which is appended a transcript of David Thompson journal for March 15-29, 1812.

——— *The Northern Boundary of Oregon* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, no. 1, pp. 25-34).

A brief paper containing a report of an important letter written by Governor Pelly of the Hudson's Bay Company to the British Foreign Secretary in 1825 relative to the Oregon boundary.

JUDSON, KATHARINE B. *Polk and Oregon,—With a Pakenham Letter* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, no. 3, pp. 301-302).

A note embodying an interesting letter written in 1846 by the British Ambassador at Washington with regard to President Polk's attitude to the Oregon boundary question.

——— *The British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, no. 3, pp. 243-260, no. 4, pp. 305-330).

An admirable piece of investigation, based on researches in the Public Record Office and the Hudson's Bay Company's archives in London, with regard to the restoration of Fort Astoria to the Americans at the end of the war of 1812-1815.

- MEYERS, JACOB A. *Jacques Raphael Finlay* (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. x, no. 3, pp. 163-167).

Materials for a biographical sketch for a famous half-breed servant of the North West Company.

- SCHOLEFIELD, E. O. S. (ed.). *House of Assembly Correspondence Book, August 12th, 1856, to July 6th, 1859.* (Archives of British Columbia: Memoir no. iv.). Victoria: the King's Printer. 1918. Pp. 62.

To be reviewed later.

- THOMPSON, BRAM. *Canada's Suzerainty over the West: An Indictment of the Dominion and Parliament of Canada for the National Crime of Usurping the Public Land of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.* Toronto: The Carswell Co. 1919. Pp. 42.

An arraignment of the Federal Government of Canada for violating the spirit of the B.N.A. Act of 1867.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

- BENT, A. H. *The Unexplored Mountains of North America* (Geographical Review, June, 1919, pp. 403-412).

A brief account of mountaineering work still to be done in North America, including work in the Canadian Rockies.

- BULLER, A. H. REGINALD. *Essays on Wheat.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 329.

An historical survey of wheat-growing in the West with special reference to the discovery and introduction of Marquis Wheat by Dr. Chas. E. Saunders of Ottawa, and to modern methods of handling wheat, storage, transportation, inspection, etc. To be reviewed later.

- CARLYLE, RANDOLPH. *Canadian National Railways* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lii, no. 5, pp. 929-941).

A popular account of the growth of Canada's government railways.

- FABIUS. *52 Questions on the Nationalization of Canadian Railways.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. [1919.] Pp. 127.

A vigorous arraignment, couched in the form of a catechism, of the principle of railway nationalization in Canada.

- FOOTNER, HULBERT. *New Rivers of the North: The Yarn of Two Amateur Explorers of the Head-waters of the Fraser, the Peace River, the Hay River, Alexandra Falls.* With photographs. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. [n.d.]. Pp. 281.

A new edition of a book first published in 1912, and reviewed in *The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, vol. xvii, pp. 142-143.

- FREIR, F. W. *Canada, the Land of Opportunities.* London: A. and C. Black. 1919. Pp. vii, 154.

A book of advice and description for intending immigrants into Canada.

- GEOGRAPHIC BOARD OF CANADA. *Catalogue of the Maps in the Collection of the Geographic Board: List of the Maps Corrected to 1st January, 1918.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. 50.

The catalogue "comprises, with very few exceptions, all the important maps of Canada issued during recent years." It is accompanied by a graphical index, containing twelve index maps.

- GOOD, W. C. *Production and Taxation in Canada, from the Farmers' Standpoint.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. ix, 133.

Reviewed on page 103.

- HEAP, F. *Ukrainians in Canada* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 1, pp. 39-44).

"An estimate of the presence, ideals, religion, tendencies, and citizenship of

perhaps three hundred thousand Ukrainians in Canada."

LEVASSEUR, N. *Le bassin du grand fleuve Mackenzie* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 4, 203-211; no. 5, 269-286).

An account of the physiography of the basin of the Mackenzie River, and a sketch of the history of its exploration.

LLOYD-OWEN, V. *The Peace River District, Canada—Its Resources and Opportunities* (United Empire, n.s., vol. x, no. 5, pp. 244-249).

A paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, Westminster, on February 4, 1919.

MACIVER, R. M. *Labour in the Changing World*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 230.

Reviewed on page 100.

MEIGHEN, The Hon. ARTHUR. *Canada's Natural Resources* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lii, no. 4, pp. 819-828).

An address delivered by the Canadian minister of the interior before the Royal Geographical Society in London.

PRICE, ENID M. *The Changes in the Industrial Occupations of Women in the Environment of Montreal during the War Period, 1914-1918*. Published by the Canadian Reconstruction Association. Montreal: McGill University, Department of Economics and Political Science. 1919. Pp. 86.

A statistical investigation into the industrial employment of women in Montreal during the war.

SANDWELL, B. K. *Railways and Government* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 4, pp. 459-469).

A penetrating analysis of the problems confronting public ownership of railways in Canada.

STEWART, BRYCE M. *The Employment Service of Canada* (Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston). 1919. Pp. 25.

Reviewed on page 102.

WEST, EDWARD. *Homesteading: Two Prairie Seasons*. With 32 illustrations. London: T. Fisher Unwin. [n.d.]. Pp. 302.

A book describing the life of a Canadian settler on the land.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

DAVID, L. O. *Sa Grandeur Mgr Paul Bruchesi, archevêque de Montréal*.

An appreciation of the work of the present Archbishop of Montreal, by a veteran French-Canadian politician and littérateur.

GOSSELIN, L'abbé AUGUSTE. *La Constitution de 1791 et le clergé canadien* (Le Canada Français, vol. ii, no. 4, pp. 286-293; no. 5, pp. 368-378).

Pages extracted from an unpublished manuscript of the late Abbé Auguste Gosselin on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

HEENEY, Canon BERTAL. *Leaders of the Canadian Church*. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. 1918. Pp. vii, 319.

Reviewed on page 80.

MACDOUGALL, J. B. *Building the North*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 268.

A book describing the history of the educational system in Northern Ontario, the conditions under which education is conducted in that still half-developed region, and the statistics illustrating what has been accomplished; written by the Supervisory Inspector of Elementary Schools in the Northern Districts of Ontario.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION. *Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship.* Winnipeg, 1919. Pp. v, 135, 12.

Official verbatim report of proceedings and discussions of the Educational Conference held in Winnipeg, October 20-22, 1919.

VINCENT, IRVING O. *Education in Quebec* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 3, pp. 389-417).

A survey of the recent history of education in the province of Quebec, with special reference to the question of compulsory attendance.

——— *School Attendance in Quebec* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 1, pp. 207-217).

A discussion of the question of compulsory education in the province of Quebec.

WILSON, R. A. *The Educational Survey of Saskatchewan* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvi, pp. 323-339).

In 1917 a survey of educational conditions in the province of Saskatchewan was undertaken by an American specialist, under instructions from the provincial government. Mr. Wilson's paper is a summary of the specialist's report, and a criticism of the educational ideals set forth therein.

VI. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLK-LORE

(Contributed by C. M. Barbeau.)

HOLMES, W. H. *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities.* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 60.) Washington. 1919. Pp. xvii, 380.

A valuable and carefully prepared handbook, which forms part of the series of handbooks bearing on the aboriginal history of North America, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Although American archaeology is still far from having reached its ultimate goal, that is laying bare the prehistoric ages of America, it is considerably advanced by such a masterly contribution as this. On examining the comparatively few references to the Canadian domain, one is unavoidably reminded of the lack of systematic investigation in this field. Only a few casual efforts have been made here and there, which have often proved fruitless or even destructive, from a lack of trained archaeologists. Dr. Holmes's book, it is true, is not quite up-to-date in this respect. Important data from Ontario, the Maritime Provinces, the Arctic Coast and the Western Plains, now available for museum study, were not known to him, at any rate at the time when he prepared his digest. Such scanty data, however, would not as yet enable a student to attack in their entirety any of the fundamental problems of Canadian archaeology—such as, the past frontiers of Eskimo penetration in the East or in the West, the respective spheres and fluctuations of Algonkian and intrusive Iroquoian cultures in the eastern woodlands, the occupancy of the plains and northwestern valleys and plateaus by native races, the antiquity of the Northwest Coast culture, and the possibility of a displacement of ancient races.

THOMPSON, STITH. *European Tales among the North American Indians, A Study in the Migration of Folk-tales* (Colorado College Publication, Language Series, vol. ii, no. 33, April-May, 1919, pp. 319-471).

Although quite brief and admittedly incomplete, this comparative study of intrusive European folk-tales in the lore of North American natives is most welcome. In conformity with currently accredited methods, the author carefully analyses more than twenty folk-tales borrowed by the Indians and compares them with parallel European versions, in many cases indicating their presumed French or Spanish origin. He also "tries to show by concrete examples how the material of

folk-tales behaves under a different environment from that which gave it birth". Many of the versions which he utilizes are from Canadian sources, either native or French.

COPE, LEONA. *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Nov. 6, 1919, pp. 119-176).

A suggestive study of time-reckoning systems in use among the North American Indians outside of Mexico. Bases and units of time reckoning, types of calendars, their centres of development and diffusion, constitute its leading categories. The materials utilized are in part derived from ethnographic literature and also from yet unpublished data from different sources. The only criticism of this well-balanced analysis to be made is that it reveals an undue haste in preparation—some data have been misunderstood, and misprints in native terms are too many—and a certain lack of critical insight in dealing with some of the important topics, in particular that of diffusion of types.

HAEBERLIN, H. K. *Principles of aesthetic form in the Art of the North Pacific Coast* (American Anthropologist, July-Sept., 1918, pp. 258-264).

With remarkable insight, Dr. Haeberlin points out that "a purely ethnological" (ethnographic is a more suitable word) "point of view in the study of primitive art is inadequate. We need a broader culture-historical outlook". . . . "By an intensive study . . . we become conscious of the essential identity of problems in primitive art and in our own." With a view to finding out the principles or laws underlying the plastic art of the Northwest Coast he indicates various outstanding traits that should be analysed and studied in relation to other elements. The conclusions gradually evolved out of the materials by these means would, indeed, be of great value for the understanding of some essential traits of human psychology. After all, our concrete ethnographic records tend to the ultimate marshalling of the scattered data into philosophic conclusions that will increase our understanding of the forces of nature blindly operating even in the complex mentality of man.

SPECK, F. G. *The Functions of Wampum among the Eastern Algonkian* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Jan.-March, 1919, pp. 71).

WAUGH, F. W. *Canadian aboriginal Canoes* (The Canadian Field-Naturalist, May, 1919, no. 2, pp. 23-33).

Dr. Speck's searching study of *wampum* is by far the most extensive contribution on this favourite theme of Indian curio collectors. In his labour of love he has left no stone unturned, and little remains to be added to the subject.

In his technological study Mr. Waugh minutely examines the historical aspects of canoe-making and the diffusion of the various Canadian types. His carefully presented materials are largely drawn from his personal observations in the field or of the specimens belonging to the Anthropological Division (Geological Survey, Canada). To his passing remark on "bull-boats" we may add that this distinctly south-western type is also familiar to some Eastern Woodland tribes, in particular to the Lorette Hurons, who use it as an "emergency" canoe.

HEWITT, J. N. B. *Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths, Part I, Collected by Jeremiah Curtin and J. N. B. Hewitt* (Thirty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology). Washington: Government Printing Office. 1918. Pp. 37-791.

MICHELSON, TRUMAN. *Ojibwa Texts Collected by William Jones*. (Publications of the American Ethnological Society.) New York: G. E. Stechert and Co. 1919. Pp. x, 777.

Few of the past contributions in Indian mythology and folk-tales can be compared in value and excellence to these two long-expected monographs. Both alike

consist of materials carefully edited by two leading specialists of the Bureau of American Ethnology, long familiar with the technicalities of their subjects. The bulk of the Seneca collection is due to the late Jeremiah Curtin, while the entire Ojibwa set of narratives was left, also in incomplete manuscript form, by the late William Jones, a talented half-breed ethnologist, who was killed by Filipinos among whom he was carrying on research work. Linguists and mythologists alike will welcome these voluminous accessions to their science, as all the Ojibwa texts are given both in the original language and in free translations, and seventy-five pages of the Iroquoian texts are cited with their interlinear translation. Such records effectively pave the way for larger comparative studies.

TEIT, JAMES A. *Tahltan Tales* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, no. 124, pp. 198-250).

SKINNER, ALANSON. *Plains Ojibwa Tales* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, no. 124, pp. 280-305).

SAPIR, E. *An Ethnological Note on the "Whisky Jack"* (The Ottawa Naturalist, Dec., 1918, no. 6, pp. 116-117).

— — — *A Flood legend of the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, No. 124, pp. 351-355).

The first two series of Indian tales were recently recorded in the course of explorations carried on, the first, under the auspices of the Anthropological Division, the second, under those of the American Museum of Natural History, of New York. Mr. Teit's valuable and fairly extensive materials are from a Northern Athapaskan tribe of the interior of Alaska which had not yet been the object of serious study. Many references to myths and tales of neighbouring tribes, added by Dr. Boas, will greatly help in further comparative work.

The Ojibwa data of Mr. Skinner were recorded in Manitoba; they represent "a transitional stage between plains and forest culture". We regret that, in the case of such records, the author should have neglected to avail himself of his informant's memory and trace as far as possible his narrative to its remembered origin, that is, by whom it was first recited, as far as known. Such queries, in other fields, have often brought out interesting indications, particularly in the case of recent borrowing from a foreign tribe.

BARBEAU, C. M. *The Field of European Folk-Lore in America* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, no. 124, pp. 185-197).

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. and BARBEAU, C. M. *Chants populaires du Canada (Première série)* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 89).

BOLDUC, EVELYN; TREMBLAY, MALVINA; BARBEAU, C. M. *Contes populaires canadiens (Troisième série)* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 90-167).

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Croyances et dictons populaires des environs de Trois-Rivières* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 168-175).

— — — *Les remèdes d'autrefois* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 176-178).

— — — *La raquette* (L'almanach du Peuple, de la Librairie Beauchemin, 1920, pp. 285-290).

BARBEAU, C. M. *Les trésors enfouis, d'après la tradition canadienne* (L'almanach du Peuple, de la Librairie Beauchemin, 1920, pp. 308-314).

The first paper listed deals in a general way with the advisability of undertaking more systematic surveys of several neglected avenues of European folk-lore in America—namely the English, the French, the Gaelic, and other—and it takes up

the question of method and opportunities.

The other contributions are limited to various French folk-lore data recently amassed in Canada and forming part of the vast collections now in the keeping of the Anthropological Division.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Kinship Terms and Family Band among the Northeastern Algonkian* (American Anthropologist, April-June, 1918, pp. 143-161).

SAPIR, E. *Kinship terms of the Kootenay Indians* (American Anthropologist, Oct.-Dec., 1918, pp. 414-418).

REAGAN, A. B. and WAUGH, F. W. *Some games of the Bois Fort Ojibwa* (American Anthropologist, July-Sept., 1919, pp. 264-278).

HAEBERLIN, H. K. *A Shamanistic Performance of the Coast Salish* (American Anthropologist, July-Sept., 1918, pp. 249-257).

NEWCOMBE, C. F. *The McGill totem pole* (The Ottawa Naturalist, Dec. 1918, no. 6, pp. 99-103).

Terms and systems of kinship among the various races of the world, often discussed by anthropologists, form to a certain degree an indication of ancient social institutions that have disappeared and are discernible only by means of survivals. They are also markedly useful to the linguist. For such reasons, several American scholars, Dr. Sapir in particular, have in the past few years made an attempt to record as completely as possible the many kinship systems and terminologies in use among the North American Indians. While Dr. Sapir's article is strictly confined to Kootenay data, Dr. Speck's are from a wider sphere and thereby invited parallels and discussion. Mr. Ragan's manuscript of Ojibwa games, purchased in 1912 by the Anthropological Division, has been prepared and published by Mr. F. W. Waugh. Together with its illustrations, it constitutes a useful description of the bowl, the mocassin, the children's dice, the snow-snake, the snow stick, the lacrosse, the shinney and the double-ball games, all of which were well-known over considerable areas in North America.

SHOTRIDGE, LOUIS. 1. *A visit to the Tsimshian Indians*. 2. *A visit to the Tsimshian Indians; the Skeena River*. 3. *War helmets and Clan hats of the Tlingit Indians* (The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania, June 1919, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 49-67; Sept. 1919, no. 3, pp. 117-148; March-June, 1919, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 43-48).

These three interesting articles were written by Mr. Shotridge, a "civilized" Chilkat Indian, for some years connected with the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Remarkable photographs, some of which are coloured, accompany the text. In the first two numbers, the author narrates his observations in the course of a flying visit to the Tsimshians of the West Coast and the Skeena River. Although he displays more acumen in a subject akin to his mind than most white observers would, his contributions remain discursive and semi-popular in character. The article on headdresses contains brief descriptions of Tlingit family crests collected by the author, who, curiously enough, seems to accept myths and kindred narratives as strict historical accounts.

HAYWARD, VICTORIA. *The Indians of Alert Bay* (Canadian Magazine, Sept., 1918, pp. 371-382).

Many interesting photographs illustrating the art and life of the Kwakiutl natives of Alert Bay, on the Northwest Coast, are here accompanied by observations that are decidedly amateurish or even incorrect.

SMITH, H. I. *The archaeological value of prehistoric human bones* (The Ottawa Naturalist, March, 1919, no. 9, pp. 164-166).

WINTENBERG, W. J. *Archaeology as an aid to zoology* (The Canadian Field-Naturalist,

Oct., 1919, no. 4, pp. 63-72).

While the first article briefly explains to the general reader the purpose of collecting human skeletal remains for anthropological studies, the second indicates, by means of examples collected in Ontario, how the archaeologist may, in his field research, observe animal remains that will enable the zoologist to determine the prehistoric diffusion of some definite species.

MACMILLAN, CYRUS. *Canadian Wonder Tales*. With Illustrations in colour by George Sheringham, and a foreword by Sir William Peterson. London: John Lane. 1918. Pp. 199.

Popular readers of fairy tales will undoubtedly welcome this interesting publication by Dr. MacMillan, a professor of English Literature at McGill University. Although it is somewhat out of place here to comment upon a work that pertains to literature rather than to science, we should not be surprised if at least some of the author's narratives were elsewhere available for scientific purposes. The reader, however, is neither explicitly informed of what tales are French and what are Indian, nor is he apt to distinguish what is original from what has been borrowed from different sources. He should not attach too strict a meaning to the words of Sir William Peterson in his "Foreword" when he says that the stories were taken down (presumably by the author) from the lips of living people. Folk-tales of course are eminently fit for artistic and literary treatment, and an author whose aim is not science should be free to follow the fancies of his imagination. We have a persistent feeling, however, that in Dr. MacMillan's book there might also be some points of scientific interest, and we regret not to have been somewhere informed of such data as are required to satisfy the legitimate curiosity of folk-lorists.

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